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AN

ESSAY

ON

MILITARY EDUCATION.

BY LEWIS LOCHÉE,

MASTER OF THE

MILITARY ACADEMY, LITTLE CHELSEA.

——Ego nec ſtudium ſine divite vena,
Nec rude quid proſit video ingenium; alterius ſic
Altera poſcit opem res, et conjurat amicé. HOR.

I call A COMPLEAT AND GENEROUS EDUCATION, that which fits a man to perform JUSTLY, SKILFULLY, and MAGNANIMOUSLY, all the offices, both private and public, of PEACE and WAR. MILTON.

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TO THE

PUBLIC.

IN this kingdom, though renowned for thoſe great talents and generous virtues that are the ſource of the higheſt improvements, little has been written on the art of war. As the natives, therefore, for whatever reaſons, have generally declined the illuſtration of military ſcience, it is hoped that it will not be deemed impertinent in a foreigner impreſſed with the ſtrongeſt conviction of its vaſt importance, if he makes an humble offering of his beſt ſervices to a People, for whom he has the higheſt eſteem, and to whom he is under peculiar obligations.

ESSAY

ON

MILITARY EDUCATION.

"THE laws of education," ſays Monteſquieu, "are the firſt impreſſions we receive; and as "they prepare us for civil life, each particular "family ought to be governed by the princi- "ples of the great family that comprehends "them all." Hence it becomes neceſſary, that the education of youth, in every ſtate, ſhould be formed and adapted to the nature, end, and principle of its government.

Every kind of government has its nature, end, and principle: its nature is its particular conſtitution adapted to ſome end; its end is that to which its conſtitution is eſſentially diſpoſed; and its principle is the active power of compaſſing that end. From this view it is evident, that the principle is the moſt eſſential part, the very ſoul of government, that puts it in motion, and gives it life and vigour. It follows, therefore, as a fundamental rule in

education, that the principle by which the whole community is regulated and ſupported, cannot be too highly cultivated in the mind of every individual.

All governments may be reduced to three ſpecies, the republican, the monarchical, and the deſpotic; to each of which Monteſquieu has aſſigned its proper principle: "to the re-" publican, virtue; to the monarchical, hon-" our; and to the deſpotic, fear."

Virtue in a republic, is the love of country, and of the laws by which its welfare is ſecured and improved. This produces temperance, juſtice, fortitude; a ſuppreſſion of all baſe and ſelfiſh paſſions; a continual ſacrifice of private intereſt to the good of the community; and ſuch univerſal benevolence of affection, and integrity of action, as give reciprocal ſtrength to the noble principle from which they are derived.

Honour, the principle of a monarchical ſtate, according to Monteſquieu, "eſtimates " the actions of men, not as good but as ſplen-" did, not as juſt but as great, not as rea-" ſonable

" ſonable but as extraordinary." The ſpirit of monarchy endeavours to effect as much as it poſſibly can, without virtue. It ſubſiſts independently of the love of country, of the thirſt of true glory, of purity of manners, of the ſacrifice of our deareſt private intereſts, and of all thoſe exalted virtues, which, in ſingular inſtances and during ſhort intervals, we ſo much and ſo juſtly admire in the antients. Honour is, indeed, inſeparable from virtue; but no otherwiſe than as an effect from its cauſe: when it aſſumes the power of the leading principle, vice may be virtue, and virtue vice, as caprice and paſſion ſhall determine; for it is then wholly ſelfiſh, and is changeable in its objects and purſuits as intereſt predominates: in the vain-glory of pretenſions to ſenſibility of affection, and of poſſeſſing thoſe arts and accompliſhments that enſure conqueſt, it exalts the ſeduction of innocence, and the violations of conjugal fidelity, into acts of gallantry; and from a prepoſterous idea of greatneſs of ſoul, and the true intereſts of the ſtate, it deſcends even to intrigue and cunning, and deems the breaches of public faith refinements of policy.

But fear, the principle of deſpotiſm, is incapable not only of virtue, but even of thoſe deluſive appearances of it that honour may chance to aſſume. It is the extinction of all intellectual light, the ſuppreſſion of every generous affection: and as the tyrant and the ſlave are equally under its dominion, deep ignorance and multiplied wretchedneſs muſt be the laſting portion of both.

If we take a ſurvey of all the aſſociations, ſtates, and kingdoms of the earth, we ſhall find, that they have riſen to greatneſs or fallen to ruin, have been happy in themſelves and beneficial to their neighbours, or rent with inteſtine commotions, or plunged into hopeleſs diſtreſs, or confederated for the violation of the common rights of mankind, according to the predominance of each of theſe three principles. But as the ſelfiſh ſpirit has always prevailed, even the republics of Greece, Italy, and Aſia-Minor, the moſt renowned for urbanity and virtue, have made only a tranſient appearance of true glory, like ſpots of azure in a cloudy ſky, and have fallen at laſt a prey to that evil nature, which is the degradation miſery and puniſhment of man. But human inſtitutions

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muſt neceſſarily partake of the infirmities of human beings; and all ſtates, like thoſe that compoſe them, have the principles of growth and diſſolution in their own frame: like men, they are born and die, have their commencement and their period; they ariſe, like light, from the darkneſs of poverty, to temperance, induſtry, liberty, valour, power, conqueſt, glory, opulence, and that is their ſummit; from whence they decline to eaſe, ſenſuality, venality, corruption, cowardice, imbecility, infamy, ſlavery, and irremediable perdition. The only appearance of a permanent government, was the Theocracy of the Jews; till, through the extreme depravity of nature, the people became impatient and uneaſy under the reſtraints of Infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs, and would not reſt till the conſtitution was changed into the regal dominion of ignorant, ſelfiſh, and arbitrary man; when declining from one degree of evil to a greater, they were at length ſcattered over the face of the whole earth; in which unnaturalized condition they ſtill remain, individual monuments of the puniſhment due to revolters from the eternal laws of righteouſneſs and beneficence.

From deſpotic government, the underſtanding and the heart of man recoil as from darkneſs and death. It is eſſentially evil in its nature, and wholly and unchangeably evil in all its effects: and, therefore, in a political and moral view, it can be conſidered in no other light, than as an enormous whirlpool ſituated between a monarchy and a republic, to which both have a diſpoſition to tend, and in which both may be ſwallowed up and loſt for ever. But in a review of all human governments, where ſhall we find ſuch an harmonious union and juſt counterpoiſe of the regal ariſtocratical and democratical powers, as that by preventing all preponderation each derives reciprocal ſtrength from the other two, and the freedom and peace of every individual is eſſentially included in the liberty and ſafety of the whole; but in the Conſtitution of Great-Britain? To the youth, therefore, of Great-Britain, of every claſs and condition raiſed above the labouring peaſant, who may poſſibly be contented with the protection of his property, liberty, and life, without inquiring into the ſource from whence that protection flows; the principles of this wonderful Conſtitution, and the high duties it requires, cannot be too clearly explained. On

thoſe

thoſe who enter into the profeſſion of arms, the inculcation of this knowledge is indiſpenſably neceſſary, that they may not only learn what a treaſury of bleſſings they have to defend, but why and how it ought to be defended; and that their deareſt blood will always be nobly ſhed, in the protection of this illuſtrious offspring of the moſt improved human wiſdom and the moſt exalted human virtue. As I have already had the honour of being entruſted with the care of ſome, who by their birth and fortune may be entitled to a ſhare in the legiſlature of this country, the higheſt truſt that can be confided by man to man; and as from a conſciouſneſs of my own principles and views, and the growing favour of a generous people, I have reaſon to hope for repeated inſtances of the ſame diſtinction; it has been thought expedient, as a neceſſary part of the ſyſtem of education that I adopt, to cloſe the following obſervations with a ſhort ſketch of the nature, privileges, and principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution, drawn according to the beſt of my judgment from the ableſt writers on the ſubject.

In the peruſal of hiſtory, curioſity urges us impatiently on with the rapidity of events, and we are wholly engroſſed by the emotions of pleaſure and diſguſt, of joy and ſorrow, excited by the revolutions of great ſtates, and the characters and fortunes of the principal agents engaged in effecting or oppoſing them. But in a review of the knowledge thus acquired, either for the occaſional or general application of it to the purpoſes of life and duty, when the mind is at leiſure to trace back effects to their cauſes, to follow the progreſs of virtue and vice, and mark their gradual influence on individuals, and from individuals to the community; it then diſcovers the common ſource of that almoſt boundleſs variety of deſign, action, character and event, which hiſtory has diſplayed; and finds, that not only the various cuſtoms and inſtitutions civil and religious, and the different ſyſtems political and moral of different ſtates, but their riſe, eſtabliſhment, grandeur, declenſion, and ruin, are to be aſcribed to the nature and power of education. This raiſed the petty ſtate of Athens to its amazing height of power and glory; this preſerved in vigour the Spartan commonwealth for more than ſeven hundred years, when Philopœmen ſubverted the inſtitutions

tions of Lycurgus, and aboliſhed the antient laws for the inſtruction and formation of youth; this made Rome the wonder of the world: and to the neglect or perverſion of this, thro' the depravity of nature, it has been owing, that the wiſdom, virtue, valour, and power, of Athens, Sparta, and Rome, live now only in idea.

In all well regulated ſtates, the firſt ſtep in the education of youth is to make them good men, juſt and benevolent members of the univerſal ſociety of mankind; and the next, to qualify them for the higheſt uſefulneſs to their own country; to inform their underſtandings with that kind of knowledge, and to apply their talents to thoſe objects and purſuits, that will render them moſt ſerviceable in the ſupport of the government under which they are born, and on the ſtrength and proſperity of which their own welfare as individuals neceſſarily depends.

But great as the object of education is, as the ſource from whence all the happineſs or miſery of the riſing generation muſt flow, it ſeems not, in modern policy, to engage that care and attention

tention which the vaſt importance of it requires. Though the principles and forms of education in every ſtate may have a general correſpondence with the principles of government, yet if ſome diſcrimination is not obſerved, and particular genius and particular diſpoſition directed and applied to thoſe employments to which they have a prevailing bent, and for which they are peculiarly fitted, diſorder and weakneſs will be the conſequence: the individual muſt ſuffer, from a conſciouſneſs of inability to diſcharge the duties to which he has been called; and when, from a department of importance, a qualified member is excluded by the appointment of one unqualified, the ſtate muſt alſo ſuffer, not only by a failure in the duties of that department, but in the loſs of two members whoſe talents have not been ſuitably applied.

The ſame form of what is called a learned and liberal education in this country, is adopted for the youth of all ranks and conditions, let their diſtinguiſhing genius, their prevailing turn and diſpoſition, and their future proſpects in life, be ever ſo various. A boy totally ignorant of the rudiments of his own language, and ſcarcely able to read it with propriety, is ſent to ſchool

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to learn Latin and Greek, where ſeven years at leaſt are ſpent in acquiring only a moderate degree of ſkill in thoſe languages: after this he is tranſmitted to one of the univerſities, where he paſſes four years more in procuring a more competent knowledge of Latin and Greek, and in learning the rudiments of logic, natural philoſophy, aſtronomy, metaphyſics, and the heathen mythology and morality: at the age of twenty or a little more, he perhaps takes a degree in the arts, and then education is finiſhed.

When education is ſaid to be finiſhed, it is natural to expect, that a young man is completely qualified to fill and ſuſtain ſome uſeful character on the public ſtage: and yet it will be difficult to ſay, what ſingle important duty of ſociety he is able to diſcharge, what ſingle office as a citizen he is qualified to execute. It may, indeed, be aſked with Seneca, where are the promiſed fruits of this learned and liberal education, that has ſwallowed up ſo many of thoſe important years that give to future life its form and tincture? whoſe errors will it diminiſh, whoſe paſſions will it reſtrain, whom will it make more brave, more juſt, more liberal? Excepting the lawyer, the phyſician, and the divine,

divine, who may convert a ſmall part of theſe rudiments of ſcience to their own and the public advantage in their different profeſſions, the youth thus educated will be excluded from ſervice, and obtain no eſtabliſhment for future life; and he who, after ſo many years laborious application, finds the knowledge he has acquired of no immediate uſe, is too ſtrongly tempted to forget it all.

But this mode of education has been ſo long and ſo generally adopted for the gentleman, that it is even ſtiled the gentleman's education. The character of the gentleman is, indeed, the moſt reſpectable and important in this country, and therefore demands the greateſt care in the formation of it. In public life, gentlemen are born to aſſiſt either in compoſing the councils of the nation, or in conducting her fleets and her armies; to be the bulwarks of the conſtitution; to ſuſtain parts that require the continual exertion of wiſdom, fortitude, and the moſt highly improved talents: and, in private life, to contribute by ſtudy to intellectual and moral improvement, to be depoſitaries of upright principles and pure manners, illuſtrious examples of temperance, juſtice, benevolence

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and piety, diffuſing order and happineſs all around them. But what benefit does this education produce to the gentleman, if, ſo far from being thought compleat, it is not conſidered merely as the ground-work of a more enlarged and more active cultivation? After the reſtraint of ſo many years in the ſchool or the college, the mind is too apt to exult in a fancied deliverance from diſcipline and duty; and where amplitude of fortune and the falſe indulgence of parents unhappily concur, it ſeldom fails either to hide itſelf in idleneſs and amuſement, or to ſeek diſtinction only from the indulgence of brutal appetite, and the exploits of boiſterous paſſions. If then the gentleman, when he leaves the ſchool or the college, does not truly conſider the education he has received merely as the conductreſs to much higher attainments, and firmly reſolve to devote himſelf to the acquiſition of more enlarged knowledge and the rules of a ſtricter diſcipline, either in the ſtudy of laws and government in the moſt extenſive and liberal form, or, if his ſpirit and genius lead him to it, in the profeſſion of arms, till he is called forth to public ſervice; his education, ſo far from being either honourable or uſeful, will only help to render him more baſe and wretched

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in himſelf, and more diſgraceful and injurious to his country.

I have here connected, not only the character, but the moſt enlarged education of a gentleman, with the profeſſion of arms; and it will be found to require all the intellectual improvements implied in that character, not leſs than all its graces and virtues.

Many groundleſs prejudices and weak and unworthy practices have concurred, to render that profeſſion in ſome degree odious. In all modern free ſtates, like this, the common cenſure deſcribes it as a neceſſary evil. But in what light did it appear at Athens, Sparta, and Rome? in the zenith of their glory, did they derive leſs honour from their valour in the field, than from their wiſdom and virtue in the ſenate? But, in their idea, valour, wiſdom, and virtue, were the three inſeparable conſtituent qualities of true greatneſs: and the retreat of Xenophon, the defence of Thermopylæ by Leonidas, and the generous and ſeaſonable interpoſition of Camillus, have in all ſucceeding times received the tribute of praiſe which they demanded, not only as inſtances of genuine valour,

lour, but of the higheſt ſkill and addreſs in the art of war. How unſafe would ſtand the noble fabric of the Britiſh Conſtitution, though ſo deeply founded and ſo many ages in erecting, if the aid of equal valour, and equal ſkill in the art of war, was wanting for its protection and ſupport!

The cenſure on the profeſſion of arms as a neceſſary evil, admitting it to be juſt, only adds ſtrength to the many reaſons ariſing from the profeſſion itſelf, for enforcing the ſtricteſt diſcipline on the ſtudent, for training him to the habitual love and practice of order, decency, and virtue. But is it known, that a ſoldier ever dared to plead his profeſſion as an exemption from the obligations of duty in civil and ſocial life? Are intemperance, injuſtice, cruelty, profaneneſs, and impiety, leſs cognizable by the laws, leſs culpable, and leſs diſgraceful, in him, than in another man? If the private men ſhould happen at any time to be guilty of tumult and outrage, it could ariſe only from ignorant preſumption, and would be immediately checked and ſeverely puniſhed: if officers are habitually addicted to gaming, drunkenneſs, and lewd-

neſs,

only as it is animated by the moſt generous public virtue; and whether the moſt generous public virtue can be attained, without that enlarged cultivation, and thoſe principles, habits, and acts, that conſtitute the intelligent and generous virtue of a private individual, let the hiſtory of mankind determine. By this ſubordination, however, the peculiar rights of honour are not in the leaſt degree violated: though ſhe is only the attendant of virtue, on whom her very life depends, yet ſhe may boaſt of ornamental ſervice, and that with her own native delicacy and grace ſhe can ſoften the auſterity and even adorn the dignity of her noble miſtreſs. As much, therefore, as the Britiſh government is ſuperior to all other human governments that ever had a being, ſo much ought a Britiſh ſoldier to riſe above the character of every other ſoldier, in the acquiſition of all uſeful knowledge, in diſcipline, in military ſkill, in ſelf-denial, in the patient endurance of toil and hardſhip, in valour, in generoſity, in love of country, and every other intellectual and moral accompliſhment.

The degrading notions and practices I have been ſpeaking of, would, however, ſcarcely have

tivated with an idea of the authority they expect to be inveſted with over the private men, not reflecting, that they themſelves muſt be ſubject to authority, and that the degree which is to devolve upon them, if not maintained upon right principles, will be in continual danger of being abuſed.

But are theſe notions and practices calculated to change that which is cenſured as poſitive evil, even into negative good? Or rather, have not theſe and other ſimilar notions and practices continually operating upon and giving ſtrength to each other, contributed to increaſe the diſgrace that has fallen upon a profeſſion, in which excellence cannot be attained, without the concurrence of the moſt highly cultivated underſtanding, with the nobleſt principles and the ſtricteſt manners?

In all ages, and all nations, the profeſſion of arms has at leaſt been deemed the profeſſion of honour: in ſome nations, indeed, whoſe form of government was monarchical, it has not been capable of a higher principle; and that has ſerved to raiſe it to great glory: but, in the Britiſh nation, it is the profeſſion of honour,

ſome apology. But even then, ſo far as the people were required to be ſoldiers, ſo far was a previous knowledge of the art of war indiſpenſably neceſſary; their innate bravery could effect much, but bravery without ſkill will not always inſure ſucceſs: and the nation would have thought herſelf unable to maintain the dominion of the ſeas, and unſafe in the protection of her coaſts, if her numerous naval officers had not been compleatly qualified, for that ſervice which has rendered them ſuperlatively eminent, by an early, well cultivated, and profound knowledge of the theory of navigation in its utmoſt comprehenſion.

But new and different ſtates and ſituations, grown into eſtabliſhment, neceſſarily require new and different maxims and purſuits; and as Great-Britain, by her multiplied connections and enlarged empire, is brought near the condition of a continental power, why the officers of her army ſhould not emulate the officers of the continent in that military ſkill which has rendered them ſo illuſtrious and ſo formidable, the warmeſt advocate for practice to the exclusion of theory will find it difficult to aſſign a reaſon. Is there any thing in nature from which

which the boaſted ſuperiority of French officers over Britiſh can ariſe, but this rejection of preparatory theory from Britiſh military education? A Briton is as brave, and as intelligent, as a Frenchman: he is leſs volatile and deſultory, indeed, and leſs quick at invention; but he is more patient, and more perſevering in the improvement of ſuggeſted knowledge: he has a more generous ſenſe of the obligations of duty in civil and political life; and a much higher principle, to carry him through all the difficulties and obſtructions of the greateſt enterprizes. That he ſhould fall ſhort, therefore, only in one attainment of ſuch great importance to his honour and welfare, muſt be wholly aſcribed to a want of reſolution to break the chains that blind and obſtinate cuſtom has impoſed upon him.

The minds of youth, if ſuffered to rove at large without employment, and not habitually turned, by repeated exerciſes, to the purſuit of good, will neceſſarily decline into evil: and ſhall a candidate for the army be more ripe for any miſchief that ignorance and ungoverned paſſion can ſuggeſt, becauſe he has had leſs culture than another? And what culture can

be more ſuitable to his views and duties, than of that ſcience, and of thoſe principles and habits, on which all his future excellence and uſefulneſs depends? One man may be honeſt, though deſtitute of dexterity or learning; another may be learned, without corporal or mental ſtrength; and another may ſucceed in various employments, without either courage, wiſdom, or virtue: but a ſoldier requires the united force of all theſe qualities, and the want of any one of them muſt render his character defective.

In moſt manual arts, and in ſome ſciences, a ſtated courſe of ſeveral years is allotted for the inſtruction of ſtudents, when theory and practice mutually contribute to their improvement; and he will be found the greateſt proficient, who has eſtabliſhed his practice on the moſt accurate and beſt digeſted theory: and though, in the effuſions of that eſteem which is always felt for eminent talents, it may be ſaid, that a man is born an orator, a poet, a painter, and even a ſoldier; yet it is certain, that correctneſs and great maſtery are derived, not from nature but art, not from genius but ſtudy.

It is the obſervation of Folard, that " war " is a ſcience for the ingenious, and a calling " only for the ignorant:" but, as a ſcience, it cannot poſſibly be acquired, without a continual ſtudy and application of the beſt formed rules and precepts, a combination of all poſſible events in their minuteſt complications, and concluſions deduced therefrom and treaſured up in the mind ready for ſervice: whereas in practice alone, though enlarged by the experience of many campaigns, the mind muſt remain blind to the event of numberleſs operations, and always liable to be diſconcerted by the capricious turns of fortune.

But, between theory and practice, when placed in competition, let hiſtory determine which has the ſuperior excellence; and hiſtory has given many examples of great generals ſuddenly produced from the fruitful ſource of anteriour ſtudy, but of none who left their knowledge to be acquired ſolely by practice. Alexander, Cyrus, Pyrrhus, Scipio, and many more, ſtepped at once from theory to the chief command of great armies, and almoſt as ſoon as they appeared were known in the characters of commanders and victors. That the greateſt

ſucceſs, and the moſt uſeful inſtruction, may ariſe ſolely from the operations of the mind on a rational and well digeſted knowledge acquired by ſtudy, the examples of Ziſca, general of the Huſſites, and of Count Pagan, are incontrovertible proofs: both, in the prime of life, furniſhed the moſt important leſſons in the art of war, the one by his victories, and the other by his ſyſtems of fortification; both were blind, and, therefore, had theory chiefly for their guide. Inſtances like theſe, even in barbarous times, muſt have evinced the ſuperiority of theory over practice, when placed in a comparative view.

The antients, not leſs eminent for a profound knowledge of the myſteries of war than the moderns, were more convinced of the vaſt importance of preparatory theory, of the abſolute defect of practice ſingly, and of the indiſpenſable neceſſity of both in continual union. They eſtabliſhed public ſchools for inſtructing their youth in this ſcience by rule and precept illuſtrated by practice; and thoſe republics that could not bear the expence of a military inſtitution in its fulleſt extent, encouraged maſters by honorary rewards to read ſtated lectures on the

the ſubject: and thus, in the leiſure of peace, and by an extenſive theory, the Greeks and Romans prepared themſelves for war. Xanthippus and Gylippus, two ſubaltern officers of Sparta, illuſtrated their training in this form and brought laſting honour to themſelves and their country, the one by gaining the battle of Tunis, in Africa, againſt Regulus, and the other by ſaving Syracuſe.

But convinced as I am of the neceſſity of the moſt highly improved theory, it is far from my idea that it ſhould ever be ſeparated from practice: I have been arguing only againſt thoſe, who are bent upon the diſunion, upon repudiating theory with indelible diſgrace. I conſider theory only as anticipated practice, and practice as the natural illuſtration and proof of theory; and the warmeſt advocates for theory have never conſidered it in any other light: Xenophon ſays, in many paſſages of his works, that "every thing muſt be referred to action." They are like light and ſubſtance, irradiating and giving ſtrength and beauty to each other; like the ſoul and body of the art of war, whoſe diſſolution muſt be ſucceeded by darkneſs and death.

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I will even venture to aſſert, that the continual application of theory to practice, is more neceſſary in military ſcience, than in any other. This forms the criterion, by which alone the different attainments of young ſtudents can be juſtly eſtimated; and moſt honour is due to him, who has ſecured his advances ſtep by ſtep, confirmed his theory by an accurate practice, and acquired a facility of applying his knowledge to real occaſions, by continually proving and illuſtrating the truth of it by thoſe that are feigned. The ultimate end of war is ſingularly great and important; and the attainment of it depends upon means various in their nature, and almoſt endleſs in their combinations: and from the oppoſition of art to art, and of ſtrength to ſtrength, added to the intervention of uncontrollable natural cauſes, ſuch new, ſudden, and critical revolutions muſt frequently ariſe, as require the immediate exerciſe and application, not only of all the fortitude, but alſo of all the knowledge of which the human mind is capable.

In the courſe of the preceding obſervations, it is hoped that the principal points I have endeavoured

deavoured to illuſtrate are evinced, and it is ſufficiently evident,

That as mankind, with reſpect to the natural powers of the underſtanding, and the great tendencies of the will, are nearly upon a level, the diverſified diſtinctions of intellectual compaſs, and of vicious and virtuous manners, that have appeared among them either as individuals or as formed into ſtates and kingdoms, are to be aſcribed to the nature and power of education:

That no ſtate can long ſubſiſt, let its form of government be what it will, if the education of its youth is not peculiarly adapted to the nature, end, and principle of that government:

That, in the Britiſh ſtate, education implies the attainment of all that enlarged knowledge and generous virtue, by which its conſtitution of government has been formed, and by which alone it can be ſupported; and that, therefore, a Britiſh ſoldier, whoſe profeſſion is not valuable for its own ſake but for its ſubſerviency to the welfare of the ſtate, is in a more peculiar manner bound to make ſuch attainment,

ment, leſt that which is intended as a benefit ſhould be perverted into an injury:

That a Britiſh ſoldier, to anſwer the ends of his inſtitution, requires the ſuperaddition of the higheſt excellence in his own profeſſion conſidered as a ſcience:

And that excellence in military ſcience cannot poſſibly be attained, without the knowledge of the moſt extenſive theory, illuſtrated and confirmed by the continual application of it to practice.

Hence, though military education will naturally divide itſelf into the two branches of the exerciſes of the body, and the operations of the mind; yet it is to be underſtood, that ſuch a degree of corrective intelligence and virtue muſt always accompany even mere bodily exerciſes, as will keep them within due limits, and improve their ſubſerviency to the great ends of a ſoldier's duty. Thus a robuſt conſtitution that is fitted by nature to bear hardſhip and fatigue, muſt be animated by a love of hardſhip, that deſpiſes eaſe and indulgence as unworthy of a man; and inured chiefly to that kind of hard-

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ſhip to which military ſervice is moſt expoſed, ſuch as long marches, extreams of heat and cold, coarſe food, hard lodging, and ſhort and interrupted ſleep.

A young man brought up in the prevailing delicacy of the times, will never make a ſoldier, without ſuch an effort of virtuous reſolution as the ſpirit of the times does not greatly encourage us to expect. Much, however, may be done by gradual advances: he muſt relinquiſh the amuſements of the town; decline the pleaſures of the table for the ſake of plain food; abandon the refinements and fopperies of dreſs; love cleanlineſs only for the ſake of decency and health, and the diſtinctions of apparel only for the reſpect due to his profeſſion; and thus, by repeated acts of ſelf-denial in perſonal accommodations, he may acquire counter-habits, and give life to that manly virtue which an effeminate education had ſuppreſſed.

The principal articles of bodily exerciſe, are dancing, fencing, ſwimming, riding.

Dancing gives grace to all the motions of the body, eaſe and elegance of manner and addreſs,

dreſs, and that manly confidence which even the beſt characters require for their deportment in public life. But here, in conformity to the pervading principle, dancing muſt have its limits: if it is practiſed merely as a diverſion, if it is loved only as an accompliſhment for attracting female notice, if too much time is devoted to it, and if it gives birth to affectation and grimace, it had better not be learnt. Much, however, both of its true uſe, and its perverſion, depends upon the choice of a maſter.

But fencing, for its manifold advantages, can admit only of one limitation. As an exerciſe, it produces great muſcular ſtrength, and is peculiarly adapted to improve health and invigorate the conſtitution; as an art, it gives quickneſs of ſight, agility of motion, a martial air, a firm and graceful attitude, and ſuch a knowledge of the ſtructure of the human body as will direct the practitioner in the niceſt application of its ſtrength. But, notwithſtanding theſe advantages, it is objected to by ſome, as inſpiring too much confidence, and conſequently producing competitions and quarrels, which, from a falſe notion of honour, end in the pernicious practice of duelling. There is, indeed,

indeed, ſome apparent reaſon for charging fencing with this evil; which, however, upon examination, will be found to ariſe ſolely from the perverted notions of honour, gallantry, and courage, inculcated in ſome ſchools; and muſt, therefore, not be imputed to the art itſelf, but to the abuſe of it. But here the reſtraining principle will interpoſe for the ſafety of the pupil, for keeping his ſkill in fencing within due limits, and directing it to its proper ends. He muſt be taught, that true valour is cool and patient, not apt to take offence, willing to hear the pleas of reaſon, and moſt ready to forgive upon the leaſt acknowledgement; that if, after repeated provocations, inſolence is not to be repreſſed, and the quarrel muſt be decided by the barbarous and ſuperſtitious cuſtom of ſingle combat, the deciſion cannot be made by any weapons fitted for the deſtruction of life, without infringing the laws both of God and man, which have been always united for its protection; that though, as a ſoldier, it is proper he ſhould be expert in the uſe of the ſword, yet, as a Britiſh ſoldier, his own ſword is hallowed in the cauſe of virtue and the public; and that neither his ſword nor his life are at any time at his own diſpoſal. His mind muſt be ſtrongly im-

impreſſed with the juſt and noble motives that influenced the conduct of the Roman, who, upon being urged to ſingle combat, made this anſwer to the challenger: "To-morrow we "are both to face the enemy; let it then be "decided, which of us has moſt courage, and "is the beſt citizen: for remember, friend, "that our lives are not our own, but our "country's."

If we look no further than the trifling punctilios on which the practice of duelling is founded, and the ſolemn ceremonial with which it is conducted, it is the moſt Quixotic abſurdity that can diſgrace the underſtanding of man; and, in this view, as thoſe devoted to the practice of it are leſs inſenſible to the poignancy of ridicule, than to the rebukes of conſcience, it is to be wiſhed, that the wit of mankind was united to laugh it out of the world. But it is born of ſuch evil paſſions, and produces ſuch horrible effects, as to demand the utmoſt exertion of legal authority for its total extirpation. For an imaginary affront given to imaginary dignity, ſubſtantial and laſting diſgrace and miſery are incurred; families are plunged into irremediable diſtreſs, the authority of government

vernment is daringly infringed, and the unalienable prerogative of the Great Author of Exiſtence impiouſly invaded. The poiſon of this infernal ſpirit has, indeed, no limits: it can ſo transform the underſtanding and the heart of man, that the wretch who has corrupted his friend's wife, can think cooly and deliberately of killing the huſband; and hope, by fighting a duel, to juſtify his abuſed character, and render both adultery and murder honourable. If there is an extravagance of folly to equal this extravagance of wickedneſs, it is that of the much injured ſufferer, in putting his own life upon a level with the life of the abandoned aggreſſor.

Though it is always deſirable to ſecure obedience by the pure influence of truth benevolence and piety, rather than by the reſtraint of poſitive law; yet young minds, in the ardour of high courage, and controlled by thoſe dazzling but deceitful notions of honour which folly has introduced and cuſtom only has eſtabliſhed, may ſtand in need of ſome external check: military ſtudents, therefore, muſt be informed, that ſo far is the violation of the laws againſt duelling neceſſary to prevent an

imputation of cowardice, that, as ſoldiers, in whom cowardice in the time of action is puniſhed with death, the laws againſt duelling are ſtrictly enforced upon them by the following clauſe in the nineteenth article of war:

" Nor ſhall any officer or ſoldier upbraid " another for refuſing a challenge; ſince, ac- " cording to theſe our orders, they do but the " duty of ſoldiers, who ought to ſubject " themſelves to diſcipline. And we do ac- " quit and diſcharge all men who have quar- " rels offered, or challenges ſent to them, of " all diſgrace or opinion of diſadvantage in " their obedience hereunto: and whoſoever " ſhall upbraid them, or offend in this caſe, " ſhall be puniſhed as a challenger."

Swimming, beſides its natural power of conducing to the refreſhment and health of the body, is ſo neceſſary to a ſoldier, who muſt often paſs the ſeas, engage near great rivers, and ſometimes croſs them when bridges are not ready or cannot be uſed, that his common preſervation, not leſs than the diſcharge of his duty, requires an expertneſs in it which frequent practice only can give. The Romans

conſidered it as ſuch an indiſpenſable article in an improved education, as to rank it with literature; and it was the common cenſure on one poorly educated and good for nothing, "that he had neither learnt to read nor to "ſwim." It was no wonder, therefore, that, with ſo many additional inducements, the ſoldiers at Rome, after the buſineſs of the day, ſhould make it their conſtant practice to bathe in the Tiber.

The great dramatic poet of this nation, who knew in what high eſtimation the art of ſwimming was held by the Romans, and that their greateſt men, eſpecially if they were warriors, were the greateſt proficients in it, has deſcribed with his peculiar force and beauty a conteſt in ſwimming between Caius Caſſius and Julius Cæſar; and to intimate that it was a practice as cuſtomary among them as conteſts in other athletic exerciſes, he has moſt judiciouſly diveſted it of all parade and ceremony, and repreſented it as the ſudden effect of a ſudden challenge given and accepted in ſport. Caſſius himſelf relates it, among other inſtances, to Brutus, to heighten the contraſt he was drawing between the inferiority of Cæſar's

perſonal talents, and the ambitious and dangerous deſigns he was forming againſt his country.

I was born free as Cæſar, ſo were you;
We both have fed as well; and we can both
Endure the winter's cold, as well as he.
For once upon a raw and guſty day,
The troubled Tiber chafing with his ſhores,
Cæſar ſays to me, " Dar'ſt thou, Caſſius, now
" Leap in with me into this angry flood,
" And ſwim to yonder point?" Upon the word,
Accoutred as I was, I plunged in,
And bid him follow; ſo, indeed, he did.
The torrent roar'd, and we did buffet it
With luſty ſinews; throwing it aſide,
And ſtemming it with hearts of controverſy.
But ere we could arrive the point propos'd,
Cæſar cried, " Help me, Caſſius, or I ſink!"
I, as Æneas, our great anceſtor,
Did from the flames of Troy upon his ſhoulders
The old Anchiſes bear; ſo, from the waves of Tiber
Did I the tired Cæſar.——

Upon this paſſage Mr. Theobald has inſerted the following note, which he aſcribes to Mr. Warburton: " This may, perhaps, appear a " very odd amuſement for two of the greateſt " men in Rome. But that this was an uſual " exerciſe for the nobility, that delighted in " the hardy uſe of arms, and were not ener-

" vated,

" vated, appears from this paſſage of Horace,
" book 1. ode 8.

" Cur timet flavum Tiberim tangere?

" Upon which Hermannus Figulus makes
" this comment: Natare. Nam Romæ primæ
" adoleſcentiæ juvenes, præter cæteras gym-
" naſticas diſciplinas, etiam NATARE diſcebant,
" UT AD BELLI MUNERA FIRMIORES
" APTIORESQUE ESSENT. And he puts us in
" mind from Suetonius, how expert a ſwimmer
" Julius Cæſar was." See Theobald's Shake-
ſpeare, edit. 1767, vol. vii. p. 10, 11.

The benefit of riding for the preſervation and improvement of health, is univerſally acknowledged. The particular form of this exerciſe more immediately neceſſary for a ſoldier, is the expert management of the great horſe; a proper training in which will qualify him to act with greater uſefulneſs, and more perſonal ſafety, in various emergencies. The military ſervice of riding, however, ſeems rather limited by its encumbrances: the ſucceſs of a ſudden enterpriſe may require the inſtant diſpatch of new orders; and it is grievous to think it muſt fail, becauſe a horſe is not ready with all his accoutrements, and there is no rider to back him

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without them: if, therefore, military ſtudents, like the Numidians of former times, and the Tartars and Morattoes of the preſent, were to accuſtom themſelves to mount, and leap, and ride at full ſpeed, without a ſaddle, they would at leaſt have the ſatisfaction of knowing, that they are qualified for any ſervice that depends on celerity and inſtant execution.

The uſe of this exerciſe in hunting, is alſo of ſingular advantage; but the regulating principle muſt confine it to the great purpoſes of military ſcience. It forms inſenſibly a moſt neceſſary quality in a ſoldier, the coup d'oeil, which conſiſts in judging ſo preciſely of a country, as to tell, at firſt view, the number of troops which the whole or any aſſigned part of it will contain, the beſt ſituation for an encampment, and the beſt poſſible diſpoſitions for the order of battle.

It is from hunting that the Indians in America have derived their chief knowledge of the art of war; and it has made them compleat maſters of the coup d'oeil, and enabled them to contrive uncommon ambuſcades, ſafe for themſelves and dangerous to their enemies.

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The great Cyrus, remarkable for the frequent uſe of this exerciſe, purſued it more for his inſtruction than his pleaſure. In his expedition againſt the Armenians, he ſent Chryſantas to poſſeſs the avenues of the country; and in his orders for that ſervice, he alludes to the ſtratagems uſed in hunting, and ſuppoſes in his officer that ability to judge of the country which much hunting had given him:

" Conſider," ſays he, " as in hunting, " that we are to be the finders, and that you " ſtand at the nets: remember, therefore, " that the paſſages muſt be ſtopped, before " the beaſt is rouſed; and that they who are " appointed to that ſtation, ought to be con- " cealed, if they would not turn off every " thing that takes its courſe towards them. " Do not march through the woods and ſuch " difficult places; but order your guides to " lead you the eaſieſt way, unleſs there be one " that is abundantly ſhorter; for, to an army, " the eaſieſt way is the quickeſt."

Where hunting is not often practicable, riding, and even walking, for the ſole purpoſe of acquiring the coup d'oeil, muſt be fre-

quently uſed. In cultivated countries there is a general conformity of diſpoſition and ſituation; and he that has been uſed to judge of ſmall ſpaces, will eaſily be led to judge of greater; ſo that, with a little aid from mathematics, he will ſoon be qualified, upon the firſt ſight of a new country, to determine, with preciſion, the extent of a plain, the courſe of a river, and the altitude of a hill, and even of two hundred different ſituations for an army afforded in a ſpace of near two leagues ſquare, to point out which is the beſt. Inſtances are to be found in hiſtory, of many armies ſaved by this faculty of nice diſcernment, and of many loſt by the want of it. In the war with the Samnites, Cornelius the Roman Conſul was repulſed in a valley, and in the greateſt danger of being ſurrounded and totally cut off; when Decius the tribune, upon an accurate obſervation of the country, diſcovered an eminence and the avenues that led to it, and by ſecuring a retreat ſaved the army from perdition.

Many other exerciſes for the improvement of agility and ſtrength may be introduced, and tennis, cricket, foot-ball, wreſtling, and running,

ning, occaſionally take their turns: but thoſe are to be uſed the leaſt, and for the ſhorteſt ſpace, that are only mere diverſions; that have the leaſt tendency to promote that kind of activity and ſtrength which a ſoldier moſt requires, and the leaſt connexion with his advancement in military ſcience. Whatever is done for the ſake of inſpiring true courage; particularly, what is done from a love of hardſhip and fatigue, ſuch as traverſing rugged ſurfaces, penetrating thick woods, and climbing ſteep and difficult aſcents, eſpecially if the mind is all the while uſefully employed, cannot fail of producing laſting benefit. The views of the ancients in the inſtitution of their Olympic and Pythic games, extended as much to the ſoldier as the man; and the many noble examples which they contributed to form, ſhould have engaged the moderns in ſome public inſtitutions of the ſame kind, that while the bodies of their youth were exerciſed and ſtrengthened, their minds might have been delivered from effeminacy and ſloth, and fitted for the higheſt attainments in wiſdom and virtue.

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We proceed now to the operations of the mind, which, indeed, have an unlimited ſcope; but as ſome attainments are more adapted to the views and duties of a ſoldier than of other men; as ſome ſubjects of ſtudy require a greater degree of his peculiar application, and others leſs; it is neceſſary to direct his progreſs with a judicious diſcrimination, that every part of the time allotted for preparatory education, which grows more valuable in proportion as it grows more ſhort, may be advantageouſly employed.

The firſt and moſt important object in the cultivation of his mind, is to eſtabliſh thoſe principles of moral truth and duty, and form thoſe habits of ſevere virtue, that will ſupport the dignity of his character in all ſituations, and render his actions not leſs honourable and uſeful in the ſtillneſs of peace, than in the activity and buſtle of war. This is to be effected only by gradual advances; and therefore muſt never be out of ſight, but conſtantly accompany his progreſs in ſcience, as the only ground upon which the advantages of ſcience can be permanently ſecured. With this, where brilliancy and vigour of natural parts are wanting,

ing, an inferior degree of ſkill in his profeſſion will preſerve the honour and uſefulneſs of his character; but, without it, the higher his attainments in ſcience are, he will only be rendered more inſolent, more preſumptuous, and more miſchievous.

But as military ſtudents are deſigned, not for learned caſuiſts, but for accompliſhed officers and uſeful men, this great buſineſs is to be purſued more by practice than by ſtudy, more by the vigour of the heart than the ſpeculations of the head. His common courſe of reading, of which ſome notice is hereafter to be taken, will furniſh him with many inſtances of the laſting influence both of good and evil principles and habits; and a little ſuperintendence will aſſiſt him in the juſt and diſcriminate application of them to himſelf: but the great foundation of wiſdom and virtue is to be laid in his own heart, and it conſiſts in ſelf-denial. Mental not leſs than corporal vigour depends on the ability to bear hardſhip; the love and deſire of this ability will promote the attainment of it; and when by repeated efforts controlling the ſtrong tendency of the will to eaſe, indulgence and pleaſure for the ſake of a

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ſtrict and honourable conformity to diſcipline and duty, a vigorous habit of ſelf-denial is once eſtabliſhed, the mind will be fitted for all the various ſcenes and offices of duty in the higher walks of life, and be always able to repel the influence of the three great corrupters of intellectual and moral excellence, gluttony, wine, and wanton women. Reaſoning minds have not found it difficult to trace back all the virtues that can adorn the ſoldier and the man, to ſelf-denial as their common ſource; the very ideas of temperance, patience, juſtice, and even liberality, in their utmoſt latitude, being apparently involved in it. And, indeed, he that has obtained the maſtery of his appetites and paſſions by continual reſiſtance, is in no danger of being tempted into exceſs and riot: he that has chearfully ſubmitted to voluntary hardſhip for the love of order and due obedience, will not be apt to murmur at ſevere ſervice in the order of military duty, nor at diſappointment and diſtreſs in the order of providence: he that can eaſily ſurrender his own alienable rights for the common good, is not likely to appropriate the alienable rights of others; and knowing life and liberty to be unalienable rights in himſelf, he will hold them

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ſacred and inviolate in all mankind: he that can deſpiſe eaſe, indolence, and pleaſure, will ſet no value on the means of gratifying them; and therefore, will look on the poſſeſſion of wealth, not as a gift for his own uſe, but as a depoſit for the reward of indigent merit and the alleviation of helpleſs wretchedneſs.

Fortitude, however, that diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of a good ſoldier, is the genuine offspring of ſelf-denial; and if it does not include in it all other virtues, is, at leaſt, their beſt protection and ſupport. Inſenſibility of danger cannot conſtitute this character; it knows all that it has to ſuffer, and fears nothing but the abatement of its own vigour: it is a calm undiſturbed unchangeable reſolution of perſevering in duty, whatever danger lies in the way, or whatever evil may be the conſequence; and is, therefore, the irreconcileable and determined enemy of vice, in every form both of violence and allurement. No people, however renowned for courage, can long preſerve their character, when once corruption has broken down the boundaries of duty, diſſolved the reſtraint of diſcipline, and given

given humour appetite and paſſion their own ſcope.

In this kingdom, where moral ſcience has been more cultivated than in any other, the ſtudent, out of the vaſt variety before him, may be aſſiſted in the ſelection of ſuch truths, as will illuſtrate the principle of ſelf-denial, and by convincing his judgment confirm him in the practice of it; and if, as indiſpenſably neceſſary to compleat his ſyſtem of duty, his attention is turned to the ſpirit and precepts of Chriſtianity, he will find, that the ſame ſelf-denial which he has been practiſing as the ſure ground of wiſdom and virtue, is made the ſole foundation of every exalted attainment that Chriſtianity requires.

It may, indeed, be objected by ſome, that it is rather an impropriety to recommend Chriſtianity to the notice of a ſoldier, when Chriſtianity is ſuppoſed to diſcountenance war as repugnant to its heavenly ſpirit. The ſame objection, however, from the precepts of Chriſtianity, lies equally as ſtrong againſt the uſe of oaths, and, by implication in the nature of its ſpirit, againſt a boundleſs commerce,

and

and againſt litigations in courts of law, as againſt war. But, in the preſent imperfect ſtate of things, the people in Chriſtian nations practiſe oaths, devote themſelves to the extenſion of commerce, and harraſs and diſtreſs one another by obſtinate and expenſive lawſuits, even more than they engage in war; and, therefore, in the preſent imperfect ſtate of things, a ſoldier who is trained up only for the occaſional ſervice of his country, is not more exempted from the obligations of Chriſtianity on account of his profeſſion, than he who practiſes oaths, or he who devotes himſelf to trade, or he who goes to law. It is not neceſſary, indeed, that he ſhould perplex his mind with the various ſpeculative opinions, that divide, inflame, and nearly diſqualify its various profeſſors: let him conſider it only as a diſpenſation of Mercy from Supreme Wiſdom and Goodneſs, for the reſtoration of all mankind to the original knowledge benevolence and dignity of their nature; let him make its precepts, as much as poſſible, the rule of his practice, and its promiſes the foundation of his hope; and as a ſoldier, who ought to value obedience more than life, he will always be the wiſer, the better, and the happier, for his religion.

Upon

Upon this foundation, and with the progreſs of the noble ſtructure to be raiſed upon it, the ſtudent may ſecurely advance in the attainment of all neceſſary ſcience: and of languages, which ought to be the earlieſt object of his notice, the French and German are the chief. The French language, though inferior in ſtrength and beauty to moſt other modern languages, yet by the inſuppreſſible vanity and inſinuating policy of the people is become the general medium of communication throughout the civilized world; and as Germany has long been the common theatre of war, the language of that country has the next claim to the attention of a Britiſh Soldier, who, as he will ſtand in continual need of both, for occaſional intercourſe with priſoners ſpies and peaſants, and for general conſultation and converſe with foreign officers, muſt learn to ſpeak them colloquially as well as with force and elegance: and if, to theſe, he can add the Spaniſh and Italian, his perſonal advantages will be improved, and his military uſefulneſs much enlarged. Theſe, as living languages, will be more eaſily and more effectually attained, by conſtant converſation and the frequent peruſal of good writers, than by the

the rules of grammar. The knowledge of grammar, however, that he has brought with him from ſchool, it would be folly to diſcard, if, without laborious ſtudy that will rob him of his time, it can be advantageouſly applied to the languages he is learning, and chiefly to his own, which merits his higheſt reſpect and moſt aſſiduous cultivation. So alſo, if, by a ſingular proficiency in early education, a young gentleman is able to read the Latin and Greek hiſtorians in the original, it is a qualification too commendable not to be preſerved: he muſt only beware of making it the ground of ſelf-admiration, of a neglect of better knowledge, and of a ſupercilious contempt of his comrades; for as tranſlation has long been induſtriouſly and wiſely employed, and as a Soldier is in queſt of the knowledge of things and not of words, all the knowledge he requires he will find abundantly ſupplied, either in Engliſh, French, or German.

This attainment of language, like that of generous virtue, will alſo be progreſſive, and accompany the ſtudent through the whole courſe of his education. The articles of ſcience

 that

that require a more diſtinct and ſeparate ſtudy, may be ranged under the general heads of mathematics, the natural and civil rights of mankind, antient and modern hiſtory, and the conſtitution of his own country.

Mathematics, which contemplates whatever is capable of being numbered or meaſured, is as neceſſary to the ſoldier, as it ever was to the aſtronomer; it contributed no leſs to form a Turenne and a Vauban, than an Archimedes and a Newton. Mathematical knowledge delivers from credulity and fortifies againſt ſcepticiſm, reſtrains from raſh preſumption and diſpoſes to a rational aſſent; and while the mind is engaged in contemplating diſtinct ideas, arranging beautiful forms, and adjuſting the harmony of proportions, the affections are compoſed, the fancy reſtrained, the underſtanding fitted for ſtill higher exerciſes, and the manners corrected and improved.

But though mathematical inveſtigations have theſe general advantages, the military ſtudent, who is deſigned not for a contemplative but an active and buſy life, muſt generally

generally decline all that ſerve only for meer ſpeculation and amuſement, and confine himſelf chiefly to thoſe that are immediately applicable to his various duties and employments. The occaſions for the practical uſe of the ſcience of numbers in military duties, are too minute and various to be recited here; but in a Syſtem of Mathematics which I have been forming for the ſole purpoſe of military ſervice, and is juſt publiſhed, I have adapted it to all the poſſible ſituations offices and employments of an army; by which, I truſt, military ſtudents will be convinced, that excellence in their profeſſion indiſpenſably requires a moſt comprehenſive knowledge of numbers, and the greateſt expertneſs in the application of it. The ſame may be ſaid of geometry, or the ſcience of extenſion, the practical uſes of which I have alſo illuſtrated in a variety of important inſtances. Upon this ground alone the ſtudent can be led to the knowledge of the nature laws and effects of motion, and moving powers; and to the more relative ſciences of fortification, tacticks, and artillery.

The ſcience of fortification is intimately connected with that of tacticks, and when

rightly attained is of the utmoſt importance to every military man. That the great advantages to be derived from it are not obtained, muſt be aſcribed to the general and ſuperficial manner in which it is taught; for though the theory is very ſimple, yet the modern treatiſes, ſome of which have been written even by eccleſiaſtics, are not much calculated for its elucidation and improvement. It is cuſtomary, I know, to adopt either the ſyſtem of Vauban or Coehorn, as prejudice and indolence may determine; and to confine the ſtudent to the choſen one, without pointing out the ground of preference, or aſſigning the reaſons which determined each of thoſe engineers to forſake the accuſtomed path, and ſtrike out a new one of his own. To ſay, as many do, that the difference in theſe ſyſtems conſiſts in the greater or leſs covering of the flanks, may, indeed, characterize the ſyſtems, but will not inſtruct the ſtudent; who, if he can produce a plan regularly drawn and well waſhed, and ſay that it is conformable to this or that ſyſtem, is, together with his friends, deluded into an opinion of poſſeſſing a knowledge that he is far from having attained. It is, therefore, much ſafer for him, to go a little

out

out of the pedantic and ſyſtematical road of what is called great fortification, and applying himſelf to field fortification to acquire an experimental knowledge of all the different works, and in what circumſtances, and with what limitation or extenſion, they are to be erected and applied. The former, though comprehending the foundation, is generally learnt by rote and mere imitation; and giving leaſt trouble, is ſometimes recommended to ſtudents as the utmoſt extent of the art: but of the latter the maſtery cannot be obtained, without a diligent and rational exerciſe and application of the great principles of arithmetic and geometry.

The knowledge of artillery alſo cannot poſſibly be acquired on any other ground: and yet the knowledge of artillery is not only as proper for a ſoldier, as the knowledge of the ſtructure power and uſe of the tools he works with, is to every manual artiſt; but is alſo indiſpenſably neceſſary in the attack and defence of places, which cannot be underſtood without it.

An expertneſs in drawing acquired on the principles of perſpective, muſt give the finiſhing to all theſe ſtudies. Without this, the ſtudent will be retarded in his own progreſs, and unable to impart his knowledge to others; but with it, he will not only find the illuſtrations of ſcience eaſy and delightful to himſelf, but will alſo be capable of rendering important military ſervice on a variety of ſubjects and occaſions. Skill in drawing extended beyond the linear part, to plans, elevations, finiſhed edifices, figures, landſkips and compoſition, qualifies the artiſt to expreſs with preciſion thoſe ideas in a few minutes, which he could not ſo clearly communicate by writing or ſpeaking in as many hours.

The ſciences hitherto propoſed, with all that are dependent upon and connected with them, where there is an equality of natural talents and of vigorous application, may be equally attained by the contracted and the liberal, the ſelfiſh and the benevolent, the obſtinately evil and the generouſly good; and, therefore, to prevent their miſapplication and abuſe by ſome minds, and render them of ſubſtantial and laſting benefit to all, the ſtudent

dent muſt be led to the completion of that ſtructure of intellectual and moral excellence, which is ſuppoſed to have been gradually advancing on the foundation of ſelf-denial. Indeed, where an unremitted attention has been paid to the cultivation of that great principle, and the habit is nearly confirmed, the predominance of natural temper and diſpoſition muſt be already changed, the obliquities of baſeneſs reſtrained, and the aſpirings of generoſity animated: and when once the power of meer ſelf-will is deſtroyed, whatever be the prevailing complexion and bent of nature, the path of virtue will be made eaſy, and few obſtacles can ariſe that will require much labour to remove; the tyranny of appetite and paſſion, that darkens the underſtanding and contracts the heart, will be ſhaken off, and the mind left at full liberty to purſue the public good wherever vigilant experience and unbiaſſed judgement point it out, and to exemplify on all occaſions that univerſal righteouſneſs and beneficence which Chriſtianity inſpires. On this ground, nothing more ſeems to be neceſſary for perſevering in the path of rectitude, but to be acquainted with the great lines of duty in real life, and the manifold

deviations to which they are expoſed in the preſent complicated and imperfect ſtate of human nature. The ſtudent, therefore, will regularly proceed to the ſtudy of civil law, ſeparated from the refinements and ſophiſtry of private conteſts, and confined to the great and liberal parts reſpecting the natural rights of mankind, the origin and foundation of ſociety and government, and the general intercourſe and reciprocal duties of civilized nations: and on this intereſting ſubject, Grotius, Puffendorff, Heineccius, and Monteſquieu, will give him ample information.

But, to obtain a true knowledge of human life and manners; to penetrate into the receſſes of the heart; to follow the progreſs of virtue and vice in their minuteſt gradations; to eſtimate the power of habits; to mark the manifold diverſifications of temper and character; to diſtinguiſh between eſſential and adventitious good; to behold the riſe and fall of great ſtates, their gradual advances to virtue and glory, and their rapid declenſion to vice and ruin; to diſcover the excellencies and defects of government; to perceive what and how much is to be ſacrificed to fulfill the obligations

ligations of ſocial civil and political duty, and what chiefly diſpoſes to the violation of them; to form maxims of true wiſdom and generous virtue for the conduct of private and public life; and, indeed, to bring to the teſt of example and experiment all the knowledge he can acquire from obſervation, from a view of others or from an intimate inſpection into himſelf; he muſt ſtudy hiſtory, a ſcience that cannot be begun too ſoon or continued too long.

But as hiſtory is a recital of paſt events that have taken place in different countries, and in a ſeries of ſucceeding ages, it is proper to obtain ſome preparatory knowledge of chronology. The revolutions of one age often give riſe to and are intimately connected with thoſe of another; and, therefore, to prevent confuſion, the ſtudent ſhould have ſuch a general comprehenſion of the whole current of time, as will enable him to trace out diſtinctly the connection and dependence of great events, to arrange them into diſtinct periods, and by adjuſting the whole to ſome general period as the ſtandard, to preſerve it in one regular and uninterrupted ſeries.

In

In like manner, as the ſituation of different kingdoms with reſpect to each other, and their interfering views and intereſts, have been the fruitful ſource of invaſions, and of long and obſtinate wars that have ended in great revolutions; it is neceſſary to have ſome knowledge of the various diſtributions of the earth, the extent of ſtates and kingdoms, and their ſubdiviſions and dependences: and this makes geography another part of preparatory ſcience for the ſtudy of hiſtory. But though a general acquaintance with the terraqueous globe, and the great changes that have happened on it from natural cauſes as well as from the agency of men, may be ſufficient for that purpoſe, yet there is a dependent branch of this ſcience in which a military ſtudent cannot be too expert, and that is an exact and even a minute knowledge of particular provinces and kingdoms. It is by this ſkill in topography that he will be qualified to chuſe ſituations for encampments, direct the march of an army, diſpoſe the attack and defence of poſts and places, and order other military ſervice, in which a rivulet, a moraſs, a ſlight eminence, a hollow way, and even the minuteſt circumſtance of variation, is often of the greateſt importance.

It

It is the knowledge of the difference in the ſoil and external formation of countries, that determines the different mode of carrying on war, in Flanders, Germany, France, Italy, and Spain; and it was to a ſingular attainment of this kind, that the great Turenne chiefly owed the ſucceſſes of his two laſt campaigns.

But though the enlargement of the mind by an intimate and practical knowledge of human nature, life, and duty, is the primary advantage of ſtudying hiſtory, yet the military pupil is alſo to make a ſubordinate uſe of it in an immediate reference to his own profeſſion; and, in this view, to ſtudy hiſtory, is to ſtudy war. Lucius Lucullus, who ſupported the triumphant progreſs of the Roman arms in the eaſt, and defeated the great Mithridates in every encounter, derived his knowledge chiefly from reading the hiſtory of former wars, to which, it is ſaid, he applied himſelf only in his paſſage from Rome to Aſia; but this application would have produced little benefit, if he had not ſcrutinized and pondered every circumſtance that tended either to the miſcarriage or ſucceſs of the great generals whoſe

whoſe actions he was reviewing, and deduced maxims from the whole for the direction of his own conduct. It is preſumed, that there are few officers who have not read Xenophon, Quintus Curtius, Cæſar, and Vegetius; but unleſs the various manœuvres deſcribed by thoſe writers are carefully analyzed and compared with thoſe of modern times, and their degrees of uſefulneſs and importance proved by the teſt of application in ſimilar inſtances, ſuch reading ill deſerves the name of ſtudy for the acquiſition of military knowledge. Indeed throughout the whole extent of hiſtorical learning, whether for the general purpoſes of life and duty, or the particular improvement of his own profeſſion, the ardour of mere curioſity muſt be reſtrained, and the ſtudent habituated to ponder, with diligent inquiſition and ſevere reflection, the characters actions deſigns and events that riſe before him; till he derives the ſame advantages from this more enlarged knowledge by the continual application of it to his buſineſs and himſelf, as he has been uſed to derive from mere military ſcience by the continual application of it to military ſervice. It is this friendly harmonious indiſſoluble union of genius and learning, of nature and art,

art, of theory and practice, throughout his whole courſe of ſtudies, that muſt crown all his labours, and make him an accompliſhed ſoldier, as well as a wiſe virtuous and uſeful man.

Of the books neceſſary for all theſe ſtudies, there ought to be a ſcrupulous and diſcriminate ſelection: if the beſt are choſen, a few will be ſufficient. It is, indeed, to be lamented, that in every garriſon of this great and reſpectable kingdom, there is not a public library appropriated to the uſe of the army, to which young officers may not only be privileged but obliged to reſort, for the preſervation and advancement of that ſcience which they have acquired in their pupilage at an academy: and till this could be accompliſhed in its moſt liberal extent, it is to be wiſhed, as a partial ſubſtitute, that every regiment was furniſhed with a ſmall collection of the beſt books as part of its common baggage. My zeal for the honour and perfection of the ſervice, emboldens me to mention this; and if I ſhould ever ſee the eſtabliſhment of ſuch an extenſive fund of military ſcience, it would give me inexpreſſible ſatisfaction to reflect, that

that I once took the liberty of publickly ſuggeſting it. It would at leaſt take away all pretenſions for waſting the precious leiſure of peace in idleneſs, that paralyſis of the mind, which not only diſqualifies it for future acquiſitions, but renders it incapable of retaining thoſe that are paſt.

Though many private academies for military education are encouraged in foreign ſtates, in which the ſcience and diſcipline proper for a ſoldier are moſt aſſiduouſly and rigorouſly inculcated, yet ſo active is the vigilance againſt the encroachments of idleneſs, that there are alſo academies erected in the moſt capital garriſons, to which, in the winter, young officers are ſent in rotation, to improve the knowledge they had gained in their private ſeminaries. This has raiſed ſuch a general ſpirit of emulation, that even the private men of ſeveral companies in a corps of artillery have voluntarily formed themſelves into a ſociety, for a daily review of their progreſs in military knowledge; and the few who from indolence or the purſuit of pleaſure neglect to attend, incur great diſgrace, and hear from their wiſer comrades the ſame reproof as ſome of the Lacedæmonian

monian ſoldiers once did from the Ephori, who told them, that ſauntering about town in queſt of amuſement was unworthy of a Spartan, whoſe whole time ought to be devoted to the attainment of virtue and the welfare of his country. For the ſame wiſe purpoſe of ſuppreſſing idleneſs, it is now a cuſtom in ſome parts of Germany, for the ſubaltern officers of every regiment to repair to the major's houſe at ſix in the evening, where they are ſtrictly examined in every branch of military ſcience and duty: this mode of inſtruction is managed by a ſeries of important queſtions, containing general maxims that lead to particular illuſtrations, and is common to every corps. I have myſelf ſo ſenſibly experienced the benefit of ſuch a rigorous and unremitted interrogation, as to be induced to introduce ſomething ſimilar into my own plan, and to adapt it as well to the officer of horſe, the engineer, and the artilleriſt, as to the officer of foot.

It is uſual to cloſe all ſyſtems of education, with recommending travel, as that which is to give the high-wrought form and poli luſtre to the whole body of preceeding

pline. But however great the advantages of early travelling may be ſuppoſed, they are remote and difficult of attainment; while the diſadvantages, if not much greater, are immediate and eaſily incurred. A foreign country is certainly the moſt improper ſtage for a Britiſh youth's exhibition of the untried efforts of practical wiſdom, the firſt application of his attainments to the realities of life and manners. An intimate acquaintance with his own country, in every uſeful ſenſe in which it can be underſtood, is a previous qualification for travelling indiſpenſably neceſſary; and therefore, inſtead of being the concluding part of a plan of education framed and impoſed by others, it ſhould be left to the voluntary choice of maturer years, when experienced judgment, and a generous thirſt after new knowledge, concur to produce it. But if a youth has not enjoyed a free and enlarged communication with men of genius, learning, wiſdom, and virtue, at home; can he be fit for ſuch an intercourſe abroad? and will he not then be left to the company of fools, fops, and libertines? If he has no idea of what, as truly valuable, would attract the notice of a foreigner here, can he form any intelligent rule for the go-

vernment of his own curioſity elſewhere? If he has not attained that dignity of ſentiment, and that ſimplicity of life and manners, to which the genius of his own country, after much diſcipline, would lead him, will he not become a motley compoſition of the prevailing faſhions, follies, and luxuries, of foreign courts? And if he does not perfectly underſtand and deeply reverence the liberal Conſtitution of government in Great Britain, can he remain wholly uncorrupted by the ſlaviſh principles of foreign ſtates? Let not then the military ſtudent repine, becauſe the time and application requiſite to prepare him for the great duties and offices of his profeſſion, will not ſuffer him to put a period to the ſeries of his ſtudies by this cuſtomary deſertion of his native land: he is now in the path of wiſdom and virtue, leading to extenſive uſefulneſs; and a due perſeverance in it, by diligent exerciſe and application, will in time qualify him to ſet his foot on any part of the globe, with ſafety and advantage to himſelf, and with honour to his country.

There is, however, a mode of travelling highly uſeful to the army, that I wiſh to

ſee adopted; but it is limited to the mere attainment of topographical knowledge, and the viſitation of fortified places, fields of battle, and the veſtiges of camps. Beſides the imperfect and ſometimes falſe deſcriptions given in books, time that changes the views and intereſts of men, ſuperinduces a change alſo in the places they inhabit; and, therefore, they cannot be accurately known, without a frequent viſitation accurately made: Flanders, which was once an open country, by a ſpirit of cultivation and a care to fix the boundaries of property, is now become much incloſed. If, for theſe purpoſes, a few ſubalterns in every corps were ſent out under the conduct of an officer of tried judgment and integrity, every part of the army would ſoon be furniſhed with a guide intimately acquainted with the different qualities and appearances of the different countries in Europe, and every other circumſtance proper for the notice of a ſoldier. But in all theſe expeditions, regular views and plans muſt be taken as often as it is practicable, and an accurate and circumſtantial journal kept of every day's progreſs.

Upon

Upon the liberal principles and with the great and extenſive views ſuggeſted in this eſſay, I have at my own expence, and in a ſtruggle with many difficulties and obſtructions, eſtabliſhed A MILITARY ACADEMY, of the regulations in which the following is a ſhort abſtract.

The members of this academy conſtitute a military republic; the laws of which are ſo framed, that the liberty and accommodation, as well as the diſcipline and improvement of each individual, are inſeparably connected with the order and good government of the whole. Of theſe laws there is a written code, which is regularly read over to the whole ſociety every week.

As the degrees of offence and puniſhment are adjuſted with an equal and impartial diſcrimination, ſo alſo are the degrees of merit and reward. The rewards conſiſt of ſilver and gold medals, and ſuperiority of ſtation and honour laſting as the ſuperiority of merit that gained it. The puniſhments are either pecuniary, * corporal, or degrading; and to

* Guards extraordinary, arreſt, and baniſhment to Coventry.

delinquents with a deeper ſenſe of [illegible], and alſo to deter others, they are immediately inflicted.

If any offence is committed of which the laws already enacted do not take cognizance, the offender is tried by a court-martial, and if found guilty the ſentence paſſed upon him is inſtantly executed.

A faithful retroſpect on paſt conduct reſtrains from the repetition of accuſtomed evil, and animates to the purſuit of higher good; and therefore a circumſtantial journal is kept, as well of all offences and the puniſhments inflicted for them, as of all works of merit and the rewards by which they were diſtinguiſhed; and this lies always open for public inſpection.

Theſe are the general principles of the conſtitution and government of the ſociety: the more particular rules of it with reſpect to buſineſs, are as follow.

Every candidate for admiſſion has a week's probation, to acquaint himſelf with the laws of

of the ſociety, and obtain the approbation of the members. After admiſſion, he is to provide himſelf with the uniform, and other accoutrements.

All the members are to attend prayers at a ſtated hour every morning and evening; and alſo to attend the public ſervice of the church every Sunday: and they are bound to the obſervance of this rule, under the penalty of a fine for every violation of it.

The members are diſtinguiſhed into three ſeparate corps, each of which in rotation daily mount guard, and perform other military duties.

Each member, in rotation, is inveſted with the character of Officer of the Week, and is then diſtinguiſhed by ſome external mark of dignity: but as it is an eſtabliſhed principle, that thoſe are beſt qualified to command who have moſt learned to obey, none is admitted to the privilege of commanding, till full probation has been made of his due ſubmiſſion to military diſcipline.

The week is divided into theoretical days, and practical days.

The theoretical days are Mondays Wednesdays and Fridays, on which the ſtudy of the ſciences and the attainment of all uſeful knowledge is purſued, ſuch as languages, drawing, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, mechanics, fortification, artillery, chronology, geography, civil law, and hiſtory.

The practical days are devoted to the exerciſe of the body in dancing, fencing, riding, and the manual exerciſe, during the day; and in the evening, in ſports for the improvement of agility and ſtrength.

With reſpect to military exerciſe, the members are inſtructed in all the various manœuvres practiſed in the field.

In the ſummers of 1773 and 1774, they formed an encampment on Banſtead-downs; and the two ſucceeding ſummers, through the kind and condſcending offices of Lord Barrington, permiſſion was granted them by Lord Spencer, to form an encampment on Wimbledon Common, where mines have been

been ſprung, ſhells thrown, redoubts raiſed, intrenchments forced, and every thing performed that can occur in a day of battle. In this manner Lollius exerciſed the Roman youth, inſtructing them in all the operations of war, maſſacre excepted.

The hours employed on theoretical days are from ſix till eight, and from nine till twelve, in the morning; and from two till five, from ſix till eight, and from nine till ten, in the afternoon and evening: on practical days, the hours are from ſix till eight, and from nine till one, in the forenoon; and in the afternoon and evening, from three till five, and from ſix till eight.

The French language is ſpoken throughout the day, under the penalty of a pecuniary fine.

Lectures are read twice a week on tactics, artillery, fortification, geography, &c. Each ſcience is traced from its origin through all its variations and improvements in ancient and modern times; and to impreſs as well as to facilitate this progreſſive illuſtration,

every part of it is demonſtrated by models. In fortification, beſides models in wood, various works have been raiſed on Wimbledon Common, by the ſtudents themſelves.

In imitation of what is practiſed in the German corps, every member is to learn, by heart, the principal maxims in the different branches of the profeſſion, as the ground of various queſtions to be propoſed to him in a regular and ſtated courſe of examination.

Saturday is conſtantly employed in collecting the pecuniary fines, and in reviewing the progreſs that has been made the preceeding days of the week; and every one neglecting this, is puniſhed by confinement to his room, till the neglect is repaired. A plan of fortification, &c. is alſo produced by every member; the whole of which are exhibited to public view, and, with a deſign to inſpire emulation, are ranged according to their different degrees of merit.

The money accumulated by the fines, is appropriated to the purchaſe of medals, one of

of which is always adjudged to that ſtudent, who, on a public examination, excels his competitors.

This courſe of exerciſe, diſcipline, and ſtudy, is purſued, without intermiſſion, throughout the year; and, in every ſcientific part, it is my conſtant endeavour to inculcate upon all the members, the indiſpenſable neceſſity of aſcertaining their progreſs in theory, by a ready and accurate illuſtration of it in practice. It is in this way alone, that genius and induſtry will always be ſure of meeting their juſt reward; and that no one will be in danger of deceiving himſelf and his friends, by pretenſions to a knowledge that he is not able to make uſe of.

And now let the impartial reader determine, whether, if this plan of education is properly purſued as the eſſential ground of attainments that require unremitted cultivation, the profeſſion of arms can poſſibly be an idle profeſſion: and let him alſo determine, whether, to preſerve its ſubſerviency to the welfare of a ſtate whoſe Conſtitution

of

of government is founded in wiſdom and virtue, it does not require ſuch acquiſitions of wiſdom and virtue, as will not fail to render it ornamental in peace, and great and glorious in war.

Temperance and patriotiſm were the baſis, on which the antient republics roſe to their higheſt glory; and thoſe individuals who ſerved their country in war, were only diſtinguiſhed from others by the ſeverer and more reſplendent exerciſes of thoſe two virtues. But the ſoldiers of Britain have much higher motives to the practice of the moſt exemplary ſelf-denial, and the moſt generous public virtue: they have a better form of government, for the ſecurity of their deareſt rights; and they have a divine religion, inſpiring univerſal temperance, righteouſneſs, and benevolence. "Citizens of this profeſ-
"ſion," ſays Monteſquieu, "being infinitely
"enlightened with reſpect to the various
"duties of life, and having the warmeſt zeal
"to fulfill them, muſt be perfectly ſenſible
"of the rights of natural defence: the more
"they believe themſelves indebted to reli-
"gion, the more they will think is due to
"their

" their country. The principles of Chriſtianity
" deeply engraved upon the heart, will be
" infinitely more powerful, than the falſe
" honour of monarchies, the human virtue
" of republics, or the ſervile fear of deſpotic
" ſtates: and that religion which ordains
" that men ſhould love one another, would
" doubtleſs have every nation bleſt with
" the beſt civil the beſt political laws; be-
" cauſe theſe, next to ſuch a religion, are
" the greateſt good that man can receive or
" impart."

When gentlemen bred for the army, are early impreſſed with the idea of a good citizen under the beſt form of government united with the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, as their principal and diſtinguiſhing character; and are continually reminded, that their military character ariſes out of it, is ſubordinate to it, and dependent upon it; there will be little danger of their looking upon the profeſſion of arms in any other light, than as bound to the attainment of ſuch knowledge and virtue, as will be always inſtrumental to the public good, whenever the public good requires their exertion. " The righte-

" ouſneſs

" ouſneſs and mercy," ſays a very elegant and judicious writer, " which is due to all " men, is the law of nature, the com- " mand of religion, and ought to be the " firſt and leading maxim of civil polity. " Not many ages ago, it was cuſtomary to " engage in war without a reaſonable cauſe " of provocation, and to carry it on without " humanity or mercy: ſince then it is hap- " pily become neceſſary, for ſtates to explain " their motives, and juſtify their conduct, " before they begin to deſtroy their fellow " creatures. And bleſſed be his memory, " who firſt taught the ſoldier to ſpare the " uſeful huſbandman, and to feel a horror " at the ſhedding of innocent blood!"

The Theban general Epaminondas, though ſo highly renowned for his military talents, yet valued not the character of a warrior merely for itſelf. Diſtinguiſhed as he was for his abilities and virtues in the field and the ſenate, he was ſtill more eminent for his wiſdom as a philoſopher, and for his amiable qualities in private life; ſo that hiſtorians unanimouſly repreſent him, as a pattern of all that is great and excellent in hu-

man nature. Let military ſtudents be prompted to emulate this exalted character; and as Britons profeſſing Chriſtianity, let them crowd as much knowledge and as many virtues and graces into it, as the character is capable of receiving. The wiſer and better they are, as men and citizens; the more uſeful and illuſtrious they will be, as SOLDIERS.

THE END.

*** The following ſketch of the great principles of righteous government, and of the Britiſh Conſtitution as raiſed upon them, which is chiefly taken from a celebrated writer, has been pointed out as the cleareſt and moſt comprehenſive that could be given: and as it is ſubjoined to this Eſſay, leſs for the information of the reader, than for the inſtruction of the pupil, it is printed in a ſmaller character.*

THE

THE Infinitely Wiſe and Beneficent Author of Exiſtence has intruſted man with life, and liberty, and ſtrength to acquire property for his ſupport. Theſe are the natural inherent and indefeaſible rights of all men. No conſent of parties, no inſtitution, can make any change in this great fundamental law of rights; it is univerſal, invariable, unalienable; it is only defeaſible in particular caſes, as where one man, by aſſailing the ſafety of another, juſtly forfeits the title which he had to his own ſafety.

If human nature had never fallen into a ſtate of inordinate appetence, laws and legal reſtraints would have been needleſs: but as all men are tyrants by nature, prone to covet and graſp at the rights of others, the great law of SAFETY TO ALL can no otherwiſe be maintained, than by THE RESTRAINT OF EACH FROM DOING INJURY TO ANY. On this ſad neceſſity of man's calling for help againſt man, is founded every intention and end of civil government; and all laws that do not branch from this ſtem, are cankered and rotten: all political edifices, that are not built and ſuſtained upon this foundation "of defending the weak againſt the oppreſſor," muſt ſink into a tyranny even worſe than that anarchy which is called the ſtate of nature, where individuals are unconnected by any ſocial tie. But if a ſyſtem could be framed, by which wrong ſhould not be permitted or diſpenſed with in any man, right would conſequently enſue and be enjoyed by all men, and this would be THE PERFECTION OF CIVIL LIBERTY.

It has, however, been affirmed even by learned men, that God, in whom is the diſpoſal of all lives and all

proper-

properties, has given to ſome a right to rule over others; that governors are his vicegerents and repreſentatives upon earth; and that he hath appointed the deſcendible and hereditary rights of fathers over families, of patriarchs over tribes, and of kings over nations. In a qualified ſenſe, indeed, this affirmation may be juſt: all the agents and diſpenſers of BENEFICENCE, whether their ſphere is ſmall or great, are God's true repreſentatives and vicegerents upon earth. He hath given authority to the tenderneſs of parents over their offspring; and he hath inveſted patriarchs and kings with the rights of protection: but he never gave the vulture a right to rule over the dove-cote; never gave up the innocent many for a prey to the tyrannous few. Arbitrary regents are no further of his appointment, than the evils of earthquakes and hurricanes; and as he is ſaid "to give "the wicked a king in his anger," and "to ſet over "the nations the baſeſt of men." God can never take pleaſure in the breaches of the law of his own righteouſneſs and benignity; he is the God of equity and good-will to all his creatures; and he founds his own authority, not in power, but beneficence: the law, therefore, of SAFETY AND WELL-BEING TO ALL, is founded in the nature of God himſelf, and is eternal, immutable, and indiſpenſable.

One man may abound in ſtrength, authority, and poſſeſſions; but no man can have greater right than another: the beggar has as much right to his cloak and his ſcrip, as the king to his robes and crown-lands. To eſtabliſh and preſerve this divinely inherent right of ſecurity to the perſon and property of man, has been the ſtudy and labour of Hermes, Confucius, Minos, Lycurgus,

curgus, Solon, Numa, and of all the legiſlators whoſe ſyſtems of civil polity ever warmed the world with a ſingle ray of freedom. But ſo ſtrong is the propenſity to uſurpation in man, ſo dangerous is it to tempt truſtees with the inveſtiture of power, that whether government has been committed to ONE, the FEW, or the MANY, the parties intruſted have generally proved traitors, and deputed power has been almoſt perpetually ſeized upon as property. Monarchy has ever been found to ruſh headlong into tyranny; ariſtocracy into faction, and multiplied uſurpation; and democracy into tumult, confuſion, and violence. And all theſe, whether diſtinct from or compounded with each other, have ended in the ſupremacy of ſome arbitrary tyrant, enabled, by a body of military mercenaries raiſed and ſupported by himſelf, to rule oppreſs and ſpoil the people at pleaſure.

That Great-Britain, after ſo many wrecks and injuries as are recorded in hiſtory, has been able to recover, to grow ſounder from her wounds, and mightier from her diſcomfitures, is owing to the peculiarity of her conſtitution. "Salus Populi, Public Safety, Se-"curity to the Perſons and Properties of the People," conſtitutes the whole of Britain's polity. Her empire is IMPERIUM LEGUM, the ſway of law; it is the diſpenſation of beneficence, of equal right to all: and this empire riſes ſupreme over king, lords, and commons, and is appointed to rule the rulers to the end of time.

Other ſtates, before now, have been compounded, like ours, of prince, peers, and people; the one, few,

and many, united. But the error and failure of their conſtitution was this: the people, who are the fountain of all power, either retained in their own hands an authority which they were never qualified to wield; or deputed it to truſtees without account, without a provident reſource and due reſerve of potency, when thoſe to whom the truſt of government was delegated betrayed their truſt. The people of Britain, on the contrary, claim no authority in government; neither in the framing, adminiſtration, or execution of the laws, by which they conſent to be governed. They are themſelves imaged, and, as it were, epitomized in their three ſeveral eſtates: the king repreſents their majeſty, the lords their nobility, and the commons more immediately their legiſlative power. The conſtitution is the inheritance of them and their poſterity; and theirs is the right and duty, at all times, to watch over, aſſert, and reclaim it. Wherefore, as appears from hiſtory, when any one of the eſtates have uſurped upon the others, nay even when all of them together have dared to violate the frame of this ſalutary conſtitution, the people, to whom it belongs, have never failed to reſtore and reinſtate it. The three eſtates of king, lords, and commons, are parts of the people, under covenant with the people, and accountable to the people; but the people, as a people, make not any of the ſaid eſtates. They are as a perpetual fountain, from whence the three eſtates ariſe: or rather, as a ſea of waters, in which three exalted waves ſhould claim pre-eminence; which yet ſhall not be able to depart from their fund, but, in rotation, are diſſoluble and reſolvible therein.

Thus,

Thus, however complicated the ſyſtem of Britain's polity may be, it is all rooted in and branches from THE TRUST OF THE PEOPLE, the truſt of powers which they have granted to be RETURNED IN PROTECTION. And, indeed, it makes little difference, whether the powers, in ſuch caſes, be granted or aſſumed: whoever either receives or aſſumes ſuch powers, ſave to the ends of BENEFICENCE, is equally guilty of uſurpation and tyranny. Government can have no powers, ſave the powers of the people; namely, the power of their numbers, ſtrength, and courage, in time of war; and in peace, of their art and induſtry, and the wealth ariſing therefrom. Whoever aſſumes theſe powers, or any part thereof, without the conſent of the proprietors, is a robber, and ſhould at leaſt be diveſted of the ſpoil.

On the other hand, if ſuch powers are granted by the people, the people cannot grant them for purpoſes to which they themſelves cannot lawfully apply them. No man, for inſtance, can arbitrarily diſpoſe of his own life or liberty; neither of the whole product of his own labours, as the lives of himſelf and his family muſt be firſt ſuſtained thereby, and his obligations to others fairly and fully diſcharged. He cannot, therefore, grant an arbitrary diſpoſal of what he hath not an arbitrary diſpoſal in himſelf: much leſs can any man grant a power over the lives, liberties, or properties of other people, as it would be criminal and highly puniſhable in himſelf to aſſail them. Hence it neceſſarily follows, that no man, or body of men, can rightfully aſſume, or even accept, what no man, or body of men, can rightfully grant; namely, "a power that is arbitrary

" trary or injurious to others." And hence it alſo neceſſarily follows, that all uſurpations of ſuch powers throughout the earth, with all actual or pretended covenants, truſts, or grants, for the inveſtiture or conveyance of them, are null and void on the execution; and that no man, or nations of men, can poſſibly be bound by any conſents or contracts everſive of the laws of God and their own nature, of common ſenſe and general equity, of eternal reaſon and truth.

How deporable then is the ſuppreſſion of theſe rights, now nearly univerſal throughout the earth! But when people, from their infancy, and from generation to generation, have been habituated to bondage oppreſſion and ſubmiſſion, without any tradition or memorial delivered down to them of a happier or more equitable manner of life, they are accuſtomed to look on themſelves, their poſſeſſions, and their progeny, as the rightful property of their rulers, to be diſpoſed of at pleaſure; and they no more regret the want of that LIBERTY which they never knew, than thoſe born blind regret the want of light.

Travellers, when they ſurvey a grand Egyptian pyramid, are apt to inquire by whom the ſtupendous pile was erected, and how long it hath ſtood the aſſaults of time. But when nothing of this can be developed, imagination runs back through antiquity without bounds, and thence contemplates an object, with peculiar veneration, that appears to have had no beginning. Such a ſtructure is The Conſtitution of Great Britain! No records diſcover when it had a commencement; neither can any annals ſpecify the time at which it was not.

William

William the Norman, above ſeven hundred years ago, on his entering into the ORIGINAL CONTRACT with the people, engaged to govern them according to the "bonæ et approbatæ antiquæ regni leges, the "good well-approved and ancient laws of the king-"dom:" this conſtitution was therefore ancient, even in ancient times.

More than eighteen hundred years are now elapſed, ſince Julius Cæſar, in the ſixth book of his commentaries, bore teſtimony as well to the antiquity as excellency of the laws of Britain. He tells us, that the venerable order of the Druids, who then adminiſtered juſtice throughout Gaul, derived their ſyſtem of government from Britain; and it was cuſtomary for thoſe, who were deſirous of being verſed in theſe ancient inſtitutions, to go over to Britain for that purpoſe. Cæſar ſeems to recommend, while he ſpecifies, one of the laws that was then peculiar to the conſtitution of Britain. He ſays, that, if a woman was ſuſpected of the death of her huſband, ſhe was queſtioned thereupon with ſeverity "by her neighbours;" and that, if ſhe was found guilty, ſhe was tied alive to a ſtake and burned to death: the very law uſed in Britain, "by a jury of neigh-"bours," to this day. It is hence very obvious, that our Gothic anceſtors either adopted what they judged excellent in the BRITISH CONSTITUTION, or rather ſuperadded what was deemed to be excellent in their own.

The people who went under the general name of Goths, were of many different nations, who from the northern poured down on the more ſouthern parts of

Europe. Their kings were originally chiefs or generals, appointed to lead voluntary armies, or colonies, for the forming of new ſettlements in foreign lands; and they were followed by a free and independent multitude, who had previouſly ſtipulated that they ſhould ſhare and enjoy the poſſeſſions which their valour ſhould conquer. Next, in order, to the general, the officers or principal men of the army were attended on ſuch expeditions by their kinsfolk friends and dependents, who choſe to attach themſelves to their perſons and fortunes reſpectively; and ſuch attachments gave their officers great power and conſideration. On their conqueſt or ſeizure of any tract or country, a certain portion thereof was allotted to the general, for the maintenance of his perſon and houſhold. He then divided the remainder among his officers, to hold of him, in fief, at the certain ſervice of ſo many horſe or foot, well armed and provided, &c. and proportioned to the value and extent of the land aſſigned. And thoſe officers again parcelled out the greateſt part of the ſaid poſſeſſions among their reſpective followers, to hold of themſelves in like manner and ſervice as they held of their general. On the conqueſt of a country, they ſeldom choſe to exterminate the natives or old inhabitants, but allotted to them alſo ſeparate remnants of the land, and admitted them to the common and equal participation of ſuch laws or uſages, as they brought from their own country, or choſe to adopt. Independent of the military ſervices above reſerved, the prince or chief further reſerved the civil ſervice or perſonal attendance of his feudatory officers, at certain times and for certain terms, at his general or national court. This court was compoſed of three eſtates, the prince, the nobles, and ſuch of the prieſthood,

hood, whether Pagan or Chriſtian, as held in fief from the prince: and from this NATIONAL COUNCIL the PARLIAMENT took it's origin. The feudal officers alſo, on their part, reſerved the like ſervice and perſonal attendance of their proper tenants and vaſſals at their reſpective courts of judicature. And as in ſuch courts no civil or criminal ſentence could take place, till the voice of the judge was affirmed by the court, which conſiſted of ſuch as were peers, or equals, to the party accuſed; from thence is derived the free, ancient, and ſacred inſtitution of JURIES.

If we look back upon one of thoſe fief or feudel kings, ſeated high on his throne, and encircled with all the enſigns of royalty; when we find him ſtyled the ſole proprietor of all the lands within his dominions; when we hear his ſubjects acknowledge, that he alone is the fountain from whence are derived all poſſeſſions, rights, titles, diſtinctions, and dignities; when we ſee his moſt potent prefects and nobles, with lifted hands and bended knees, ſwearing fealty at his feet; who would not take him for an arbitrary and moſt abſolute monarch? No prince, however, could be more limited; he had not the licence of doing hurt to the perſon or property of the meaneſt vaſſal throughout his dominions. But, was he the leſs powerful, for being leſs abſolute? Quite the contrary. While he acted within the ſphere of his compact with the people, he acted in all the perſons and powers of the people: though preſcribed with reſpect to evil, the extent of his beneficence was wholly unconfined. He was not dreaded indeed, but on that account he was the more revered and beloved by his ſubjects: he was a part of themſelves, the principal

member of their body, in whom they beheld with delight their own dignity and ſtrength, glorioufly repreſented; and, by being the proprietor of their hearts, he became the maſter of all their hands.

THE KING in the conſtitution of Great Britain, is more properly the king of, than a king over the people, united to them, one of them, and contained in them. At the ſame time that he is acknowledged the head of their body, he is their principal ſervant or miniſter, being the deputee of their executive power.

His claim to the throne, is not a claim as of ſome matter of property or perſonal right; he doth not claim, but is claimed by the people in their parliament; and he is claimed or called upon, not to the inveſtiture of poſſeſſions, but the performance of duties. He is called upon to govern the people, according to the laws by which they themſelves have conſented to be governed; to cauſe juſtice and mercy to be diſpenſed throughout the realm; and, to his utmoſt, to execute, protect, and maintain the laws of the Goſpel of God, and the rights and liberties of all the people without diſtinction; and this he ſwears on the Goſpel of God to perform. And thus, as all others owe allegiance to the king, the king himſelf oweth allegiance to the conſtitution.

The exiſtence of a king, as one of the three eſtates, is immutable, indiſpenſable, and indefeaſible: the conſtitution cannot ſubſiſt without a king. But then his perſonal claim of poſſeſſion, and of hereditary ſucceſſion to the throne, is, in ſeveral inſtances, precarious and defeaſible: as in caſe of any natural incapacity to govern;

vern; or of an open avowal of principles incompatible with the conſtitution; or of overt-acts demonſtrative of ſuch principles; or of any attempt to ſap or overthrow a fundamental part of that ſyſtem, which he was called in, and conſtituted, and has ſworn to maintain.

Though the claim of all kings to the throne of Great Britain is a limited and defeaſible claim, yet the world can afford no rival in power or glory, to a Conſtitutional Sovereign of theſe free dominions. For the honour of their own body, they have inveſted this their head with all poſſible illuſtration. He concentrates the rays of many nations. They have cloathed him in royal robes, encircled his head with a diadem, and inthroned him on high: and they bow down before the mirror of their own majeſty.

Neither are his the mere enſigns or external ſhews of regency: he is inveſted alſo with powers much more real than if they were abſolute. There are three capital prerogatives with which the king is intruſted, which, at firſt ſight, appear of fearful and dangerous tendency; and which muſt infallibly end in arbitrary dominion, if they were not counterpoiſed and counteracted. His principal prerogative is to make war or peace, as alſo treaties, leagues, and alliances with foreign potentates. His ſecond prerogative is to nominate and appoint all miniſters and ſervants of ſtate, all judges and adminiſtrators of juſtice, and all officers civil and military. His third capital prerogative is, that he ſhould have the whole executive power of the government of theſe nations, by his ſaid miniſters and officers, both civil and military.

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I might here alſo have added a fourth prerogative, which muſt have been capitally everſive of the conſtitution, had it not been limited in the original truſt: I mean a power of granting pardon to criminals. Had this power been unreſtrained, all obligations to juſtice might be abſolved at the king's pleaſure: an evil king might even encourage the breach of law: he muſt, unquſtionably, have diſpenſed with all illicit acts that were perpetrated by his own orders; and the aſſurance of pardon muſt as unqueſtionably have encouraged all his miniſters and officers, to execute his will as the only rule of their obedience. But he is reſtrained from protecting his beſt beloved miniſters, when they have effected or even imagined the damage of the conſtitution: he is alſo limited in appeals brought by the ſubject for murder or robbery. But, on indictments in his own name, for offences againſt his proper perſon and government, ſuch as rebellion, inſurrection, riot, and breaches of the peace, by murder, maim, or robbery, &c. he is at liberty to extend the arm of his mercy; there being many caſes ſo circumſtanced, ſo admiſſive of pitiable and palliating conſiderations, that ſummum jus, or ſtrict juſtice, might prove ſumma injuria, or extreme injuſtice.

All pardonable offences are diſtinguiſhed by the title of, crimina læſæ majeſtatis, ſins againſt the king: all unpardonable offences are diſtinguiſhed by the title of, crimina læſæ libertatis, ſins againſt the conſtitution. In the firſt caſe, the injury is preſumed to extend no further than to one or a few individuals; in the ſecond, it is charged as a ſin againſt the public, againſt the collective body of the whole people. Of the latter kind are nuiſances that may endanger the lives of travellers on the

the high-way; but, more capitally, any imagination, proved by overt-act or evil advice, tending to change the nature or form of any one of the three eſtates; or tending to veſt the government, or the adminiſtration thereof, in any one or any two of the ſaid eſtates, independent of the other; or tending to raiſe armies, or to continue them in time of peace, without the conſent of parliament; or tending to give any foreign ſtate an advantage over theſe realms by ſea or by land.

The king hath alſo annexed to his dignity many further very important powers and prerogatives; tho' they do not ſo intimately interfere with the conſtitution as the capital prerogatives above recited. He is conſidered as the original proprietor of all the lands in theſe kingdoms; and he founds this claim, as well on the conqueſt by William the Norman, as by the limited kings or leaders of our Gothic anceſtors. Hence it comes to paſs, that all lands, to which no ſubject can prove a title, are ſuppoſed to be in their original owner, and are, therefore, by the conſtitution, veſted in the crown. On the ſame principle alſo, the king is intitled to the lands of all perſons who die without heirs; as alſo to the poſſeſſions of all, who are convicted of crimes ſubverſive of the conſtitution or public weal.

His perſon, while he is king or incluſive of the firſt eſtate, is conſtitutionally ſacred, and exempted from all acts of violence or conſtraint. As one of the eſtates alſo he is conſtituted a corporation, and his teſte-meipſo, or written teſtimony, amounts to a matter of record. He alſo exerciſes, at preſent, the independent province of ſupplying members to the ſecond eſtate by a new creation,

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a very large acceſſion to his original powers. Biſhops alſo are now appointed and nominated by the king, another conſiderable addition to the royal prerogative. His is the ſole prerogative to coin or impreſs money; and to ſpecify, change, or determine, its current value; and for this purpoſe he is ſuppoſed to have reſerved, from his original grant of lands, a property in mines of gold and ſilver, which are therefore called royalties. As one of the three conſtitutional eſtates, no action can lie againſt him in any court; neither can he be barred of his title by length of time or entry. And theſe illuſtrations of his dignity caſt rays of anſwerable privileges on his royal conſort, heir apparent, and eldeſt daughter. The king hath alſo ſome other inferior and conditional powers; ſuch as of inſtituting fairs and markets; and of iſſuing patents for ſpecial or perſonal purpoſes, provided they ſhall not be found to infringe on the rights of others. He is alſo intruſted with the guardianſhip of the perſons and poſſeſſions of idiots and lunatics without account. I leave his prerogative of a negative voice in the legiſlature; as alſo his prerogative, or rather duty, frequently to call the two other eſtates to parliament, and duly to continue, prorogue, and diſſolve the ſame; till I come to ſpeak of the three eſtates, when in ſuch parliament aſſembled.

Here then we find, that a king of Great Britain is conſtitutionally inveſted with every power that can poſſibly be exerted in acts of beneficence; and that, while he continues to move within the ſphere of his benign appointment, he continues to be conſtituted the moſt worthy, moſt mighty, and moſt glorious repreſentative of Omipotence upon earth.

In treating of the ſecond and third eſtate, I come naturally to conſider what thoſe reſtraints are, which, while they are preſerved inviolate, have ſo happy a tendency to the mutual proſperity of prince and people.

THE NOBILITY, or ſecond eſtate, in the conſtitution of Great Britain, was originally repreſentative. The members were ennobled by tenure, and not by writ or patent; and they were holden in ſervice to the crown and kingdom, for the reſpective provinces, counties, or baronies, whoſe name they bore and which they repreſented.

A title to be a member of this ſecond eſtate, was from the beginning hereditary. The king could not antiently either create or defeat a title to nobility. Their titles were not forfeitable, ſave by the judgment of their peers upon legal trial; and when any were ſo deprived, or happened to die without heirs, the ſucceſſion was deemed too important to be otherwiſe filled, than by the concurrence of the three eſtates, by the joint and ſolemn act of the PARLIAMENT, or COMMUNE CONCILIUM REGNI.

Theſe truths are atteſted by many ancient records and parliamentary acts. And, altho this moſt highly ennobling cuſtom was, at particular times, infringed by particular tyrants, it was inviolably adhered to by the beſt of our Engliſh kings, and was obſerved even by the worſt, excepting a few inſtances, till the reign of Henry VII. who wiſhed to give conſequence to the third eſtate, by deducting from the honours and powers of the ſecond. In truth, it is not to be wondered, that

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any kings, who were ambitious of extending their own power, ſhould wiſh to break and weaken that of the nobility, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſo many glorious ſtands for maintenance of liberty and the conſtitution, more particularly during the reigns of John, Henry III, Edward II, and Richard II.

Till Henry VII. the nobles were looked upon as ſo many pillars, whereon the people reſted their rights. Accordingly we find that, in the coalition or grand compact between John and the collective body of the nation, the king and people jointly agree to confide to the nobles the ſuperintendence of the execution of the great charter, with authority to them and their ſucceſſors to inforce the due performance of the covenants therein comprized.

What an illuſtrating diſtinction muſt it have been, when patriot-excellence alone, approved before the country in the field or the council, could give a claim to nobility, and compel, as it were, the united eſtates of king lords and commons, to call a man up to the ſecond ſeat in the government and ſteerage of the nation! Such a preference muſt have proved an unremitting incitement to the cultivation and exerciſe of every virtue; and to ſuch exertions, atchievements, and acts of public beneficence, as ſhould draw a man forth to ſo ſhining a point of light, and ſet him like a gem in the gold of the conſtitution.

The crown did not at once aſſume the independent right of conferring nobility. Henry III. firſt omitted to call ſome of the barons to parliament, who were perſonally

ſonally obnoxious to him; and he iſſued his writs or written letters to ſome others who were not barons, but from whom he expected greater conformity to arbitrary meaſures. Theſe writs, however, did not ennoble the party, till he was admitted, by the ſecond eſtate, to a ſeat in parliament; neither was ſuch nobility, by writ, hereditary. To ſupply theſe defects, the arbitrary miniſtry of Richard II. invented the method of ennobling by letters patent, at the king's pleaſure, whether for years or for life, or in ſpecial or general tail, or in fee-ſimple to a man and his heirs at large. This prerogative, however, was thereafter, in many inſtances, declined and diſcontinued, more particularly by the conſtitutional king Henry V. till meeting with no oppoſition from the other two eſtates, it has ſucceſſively deſcended from Henry VII. on nine crowned heads, through a preſcription of near a century and an half.

Next to their king, the people have allowed to their peerage ſeveral privileges of the moſt uncommon and illuſtrious diſtinction. Their Chriſtian names, and the names that deſcended to them from their anceſtors, are abſorbed by the name from whence they take their title of honour, and by this they make their ſignature in all letters of deeds. Every temporal peer of the realm is deemed a kinſman to the crown. Their depoſition on their honour, is admitted in place of their oath, ſave where they perſonally preſent themſelves as witneſſes of facts, and ſaving their oaths of allegiance, ſupremacy, and abjuration. During a ſeſſion of parliament, all actions and ſuits at law againſt peers are ſuſpended. In preſentments or indictments by grand juries, and on impeachments by the houſe of commons, peers are to be tried

tried by their peers alone; for in all criminal caſes they are privileged from the juriſdiction of inferior courts, excepting on appeals for murder or robbery. Peers are alſo exempted from ſerving on inqueſts. And, in all civil cauſes, where a peer is plaintiff, two or more knights muſt be impannelled on the jury.

The biſhops, or ſpiritual lords, have privilege of parliament, but have not the above privileges of perſonal nobility. In all criminal caſes, ſaving attainder and impeachment, they are to be tried by a petit-jury. Moreover, biſhops do not vote, in the houſe of lords, on the trial of any perſon for a capital crime.

All the temporal and ſpiritual nobles that compoſe the houſe of lords, however different in their titles and degrees of nobility, are called peers, pares, or equals, becauſe their voices are admitted as of equal value; ſo that the vote of a biſhop or baron is equivalent to that of an archbiſhop or duke.

The capital privilege, or rather prerogative, of the houſe of peers, conſiſts in their being the ſupreme court of judicature, to whom the final deciſion of all civil cauſes are confided and referred, in the laſt reſort.

This conſtitutional privilege is a weighty counterpoiſe to his majeſty's ſecond prerogative of appointing the adminiſtrators of juſtice throughout the nation; foraſmuch as judges are intimidated from infringing, by any ſentence, on the laws or conſtitution of theſe realms, while a judgment, ſo highly ſuperior to their own, impends.

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The ſecond great privilege of the houſe of peers conſiſts, in their having the ſole judicature of all impeachments commenced and proſecuted by the commons. And this again is a very weighty counterpoiſe to his majeſty's third prerogative of the executive government of theſe nations by his miniſters; ſince no miniſter can be ſo great, as not juſtly to dread the coming under a judgment, from which the mightineſs of his royal maſter cannot protect him.

The third capital privilege of the houſe of peers ſubſiſts, in their ſhare, or particular department of rights, in the legiſlature. This extends to the framing of any bills, at their pleaſure, for the purpoſes of good government; ſaving always to the commons, their incommunicable right of granting taxes or ſubſidies to be levied on their conſtituents. But on ſuch bills, as on all others, the houſe of lords have a negative: a happy counterpoiſe to the power both of king and commons, ſhould demands on the one part, or bounties on the other, exceed what is requiſite.

THE ELECTION OF COMMONERS, to be immediate truſtees and apt repreſentatives of the people in parliament, is the hereditary and indefeaſible privilege of the people. It is the privilege which they accepted, and which they retain, in exchange of their orginally inherent and hereditary right of ſitting with the king and peers, IN PERSON, for the guardianſhip of their own liberties and the inſtitution of their own laws. Such repreſentatives, therefore, can never have it in their power, to give, delegate, or extinguiſh, the whole or any part of the people's inſeparable and unextinguiſhable ſhare in the legiſlative power; neither to impart the

ſame to any one of the other eſtates, or to any perſon or perſons whatever, either in or out of parliament. Where plenipotentiaries take upon them to aboliſh the authority of their principals; or where any ſecondary agents attempt to defeat the power of their primaries; ſuch agents and plenipotentiaries deſtroy their own commiſſion, and all the powers of the truſt neceſſarily revert to the conſtituents.

The perſons of theſe temporary truſtees of the people, during their ſeſſion, and for fourteen days before and after every meeting, prorogation, adjournment, and diſſolution of parliament, are equally exempted, with the perſons of peers, from arreſt and dureſs of every ſort. They are alſo, during their ſeſſion, to have ready acceſs to the king or houſe of lords, and to addreſs or confer with them on all occaſions.

No member of the houſe of commons, no more than of the houſe of peers, ſhall ſuffer, or be queſtioned, or compelled to witneſs or anſwer, in any court or place whatſoever, touching any thing ſaid or done by himſelf or others in parliament; in order that perfect freedom of ſpeech and action may leave nothing unattempted for the public weal. They have alſo, during ſeſſion, an equal power with the houſe of lords, to puniſh any who ſhall preſume to traduce their dignity, or detract from the rights and privileges of any member of their houſe.

The commons form a court of judicature, diſtinct from the judicature of the houſe of lords. Theirs is the peculiar privilege to try and adjudge the legality of the election of their own members; they may fine and confine

fine their own members as well as others, for delinquency or offence againſt the honour of their houſe: but, in all other matters of judicature, they are merely a court of inquiſition and preſentment, and not a tribunal of definitive judgement. In this reſpect, however, they are extremely formidable: they conſtitute the grand inqueſt of the nation; for which great and good purpoſe, they are ſuppoſed to be perfectly qualified, by a perſonal knowledge of what hath been tranſacted throughout the ſeveral ſhires, cities, and boroughs, from whence they aſſemble, and which they repreſent.

Over and above their inquiry into all public grievances, wicked miniſters, tranſgreſſing magiſtrates, corrupt judges and juſticiaries, who ſell, deny, or delay juſtice; evil councellors of the crown, who attempt or deviſe the ſubverſion or alteration of any part of the conſtitution; with all ſuch overgrown malefactors as are deemed above the reach of inferior courts; come under the particular cognizance of the commons, to be by them impeached, and preſented for trial at the bar of the houſe of lords. And theſe inquiſitory and judicial powers of the two houſes, from which no man under the crown can be exempted, are deemed a ſufficient allay and counterpoiſe to the whole executive power of the king by his miniſters.

The legiſlative department of the power of the commons, is in all reſpects co-equal with that of the peers. They frame any bills at pleaſure for the purpoſes of good government. They exerciſe a right, as the lords alſo do, to propoſe and bring in bills, for the amendment or repeal of old laws, as well as for the ordaining

or inſtitution of new ones. And each houſe alike hath a negative on all bills that are framed and paſſed by the other. But the capital the incommunicable privilege of the houſe of commons, ariſes from that holy truſt which their conſtituents repoſe in them; whereby they are impowered to borrow from the people a ſmall portion of their property, in order to reſtore it threefold, in the advantages of peace, equal government, and the encouragement of trade, induſtry, and the manufactures. To impart any of this truſt, would be a breach of the conſtitution: and even to abuſe it, would be a felonious breach of common honeſty.

By this fundamental truſt and incommunicable privilege, the commons have the ſole power over the money of the people; to grant or deny aids, according as they ſhall judge them either requiſite or unneceſſary to the public ſervice. Theirs is the province, and theirs alone, to enquire and judge of the ſeveral occaſions for which ſuch aids may be required, and to meaſure and appropriate the ſums to their reſpective uſes. Theirs alſo is the ſole province of framing all bills or laws for the impoſing of any taxes, and of appointing the means for levying the ſame upon the people. Neither may the firſt or ſecond eſtate, either king or peerage, propound or do any thing relating to theſe matters, that may any way interfere with the proceedings of the commons, ſave in their negative or aſſent to ſuch bills, when preſented to them, without addition, deduction, or alteration of any kind.

After ſuch aids and taxes have been levied and diſpoſed of, the commons have the further right of enquiring and

examining into the application of the ſaid aids; of ordering all accounts relative thereto, to be laid before them; and of cenſuring the abuſe or miſapplication thereof. The royal aſſent to all other bills is expreſſed in the terms "Le roy le veut; the king wills it:" but, when the commons preſent their bills of aid to his majeſty, it is anſwered, "Le roy remercie ſes loyal "ſujets, et ainſi le veut; the king thanks his loyal ſub-"jects, and ſo willeth;" an expreſs acknowledgement, that the right of granting or levying monies for public purpoſes, lies ſolely, inherently, and incommunicably, in the people and their repreſentatives.

This capital privilege of the commons, conſtitutes the grand counterpoiſe to the king's principal prerogative of making war: for how impotent muſt a warlike enterprize prove without money, which makes the ſinews thereof! And thus the people and their repreſentatives ſtill retain in their hands the GRAND MOMENTUM of the conſtitution, and of all human affairs. Diſtinguiſhed repreſentatives! Happy people, immutably happy, while worthily repreſented!

As the fathers of the ſeveral families throughout the kingdom, nearly and tenderly comprize and repreſent the perſons, cares, and concerns, of their reſpective houſeholds; ſo theſe adopted fathers immediately repreſent, and intimately concentrate, the perſons and concerns of their reſpective conſtituents, and in them the collective body or ſum of the nation. And while theſe fathers continue true to their adopting children, a ſingle ſtone cannot lapſe from the GREAT FABRIC OF THE CONSTITUTION.

WITH

WITH the king, lords, and commons, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED, the people have depoſited their legiſlative or abſolute power, IN TRUST for their whole body; the ſaid king, lords, and commons, when ſo aſſembled, being the GREAT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WHOLE NATION, as if all the people were then convened in one general aſſembly.

As the inſtitution, repeal, and amendment of laws, together with the redreſs of public grievances and offences, are not within the capacity of any of the three eſtates diſtinct from the others, the frequent holding of parliaments is the vital food, without which the conſtitution cannot ſubſiſt.

The three eſtates originally, when aſſembled in parliament, ſat together conſulting in the open field. Accordingly, at Running-Mead, five hundred years ago, king John paſſed the great charter (as therein is expreſſed) by the advice of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, by the advice of ſeveral commoners (by name recited) et aliorum fidelium, and of others his faithful people. And in the twenty-firſt clauſe of the ſaid charter, he covenants that, "For having the common council of "the kingdom to aſſeſs aids, he will cauſe the lords ſpi-"ritual and temporal to be ſummoned by his writs; and "moreover that he will cauſe the principal commoners, "or thoſe who held from him in chief, to be generally "ſummoned to ſaid parliaments by his ſheriffs and bai-"liffs." In theſe aſſemblies however, the concourſe became ſo great and diſorderly, and the conteſts frequently ran ſo high between the ſeveral eſtates, in aſſertion of their reſpective prerogatives and privileges; that they

they judged it more expedient to ſit apart, and ſeparately to exerciſe the offices of their reſpective departments.

As there is no man or ſet of men, no claſs or corporation, no village or city, throughout the kingdom, that is not repreſented by the delegates in parliament, this great body politic or repreſentative of the nation conſiſts, like the body natural, of a head and ſeveral members; which, being endowed with different powers for the exerciſe of different offices, are yet connected by one main and common intereſt, and actuated by ONE LIFE or SPIRIT OF PUBLIC REASON, called THE LAWS.

In all ſteps of national import, the king is to be conducted by the direction of the parliament, his great national council; a council on whom it is equally incumbent to conſult for the king with whom they are connected, and for the people by whom they are delegated, and whom they repreſent. Thus the king is conſtitutionally to be guided by the ſenſe of his parliament; and the parliament alike is conſtitutionally to be guided by the general ſenſe of the people. The two eſtates in parliament are the conſtituents of the king; and the people, mediately or immediately, are the conſtituents of the two eſtates in parliament.

Now, while the three eſtates act diſtinctly, within their reſpective departments, they affect and are reciprocally affected by each other. This action and re-action produces that general and ſyſtematic controul, which, like CONSCIENCE, pervades and ſuperintends the whole, checking

checking and prohibiting evil from every part of the conſtitution. And from this confinement of every part to the rule of RIGHT REASON, the great LAW OF LIBERTY TO ALL ariſeth. For inſtance, The king has the ſole prerogative of making war, &c. but then the means are in the hands of the people and their repreſentatives. Again, To the king is committed the whole executive power: but then the miniſters of that power are accountable to a tribunal, from which a criminal has no appeal or deliverance to look for. Again, To the king is committed the cognizance of all cauſes: but ſhould his judges or juſticiaries pervert the rule of righteouſneſs, an inquiſition, impeachment, and trial impends, from whoſe judgment the judges cannot be exempted. Again, The king hath a negative upon all bills, whereby his own prerogatives are guarded from invaſion: but ſhould he refuſe the royal aſſent to bills tending to the general good of the ſubject, the commons can alſo withold their bills of aſſeſſment, or annex the rejected bills to their bill of aids; and they never failed to paſs in ſuch agreeable company. Laſtly, To the king is committed the right of calling the two eſtates to parliament; but, ſhould he refuſe ſo to call them, ſuch a refuſal would be deemed an abdication of the conſtitution; and no one need to be told at this day, that an abdication of the conſtitution is an ABDICATION OF THE THRONE.

Thus, while the king acts in conſent with the parliament and his people, he is limitleſs, irreſiſtible, omnipotent upon earth; he is the free wielder of all the powers of a free and noble people, a king throned over all the kings of the children of men. But ſhould he attempt to break bounds, ſhould he caſt for independence,

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he finds himſelf hedged in and ſtraitened on every ſide; he finds himſelf abandoned by all his powers, and juſtly left to a ſtate of utter impotence and inaction.

Hence is imputed to the ſovereign head, in the conſtitution of Great Britain, the high and divine attribute, THE KING CAN DO NO WRONG; for he is ſo circumſcribed from the poſſibility of tranſgreſſion, that no wrong can be permitted to any king in the conſtitution.

While the king is thus controuled by the lords and the commons; while the lords are thus controuled by the commons and the king; and while the commons are thus controuled by the other two eſtates, from attempting any thing to the prejudice of the general welfare; the three eſtates may be aptly compared to three pillars divided below at equidiſtant angles, but united and ſupported at top, merely by the bearing of each pillar againſt the others: take but any one of theſe pillars away, and the other two muſt inevitably tumble; but while all act on each other, all are equally counteracted, and thereby affirm and eſtabliſh the general frame.

How deplorable then would it be, ſhould the elaborate ſtructure of this happy conſtitution ever fall a prey to effeminacy, puſilanimity, venality, and ſeduction; like ſome ancient oak, the lord of the foreſt, to vile worms that lie gnawing at the root! Should the morals of the repreſentatives ever come to be debauched, CONSENT, which is the ſalt of liberty, would then be corrupted, and no ſalt might be found wherewith it could be ſeaſoned. Thoſe who are inwardly the ſervants of ſin, muſt be outwardly the ſervants of influence: each man would

then be as the Trojan horſe of old, and carry the enemies of his country within his boſom: their own appetites would then induce them to betray their own intereſts; and ſtate policy would ſeize them, a willing ſacrifice to their own perdition. Should it ever come to paſs, that corruption, like a dark and low-hung miſt, ſhould ſpread from man to man, and cover theſe lands; ſhould a general diſſolution of manners prevail; ſhould vice be countenanced and communicated by the leaders of faſhion; ſhould guilt lift up it's head without fear of reproach, avow itſelf in the face of the ſun, and laugh virtue out of countenance by force of numbers—Should ſuch a day ever arrive, it will be doom's-day, indeed, to the virtue, the liberty, and conſtitution of theſe kingdoms. It would be the ſame to Great Britain, as it would happen to the univerſe, ſhould the laws of coheſion ceaſe to operate, and all the parts be diſſipated, whoſe orderly connection now forms THE BEAUTY AND COMMON-WEALTH OF NATURE.

THE END.

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